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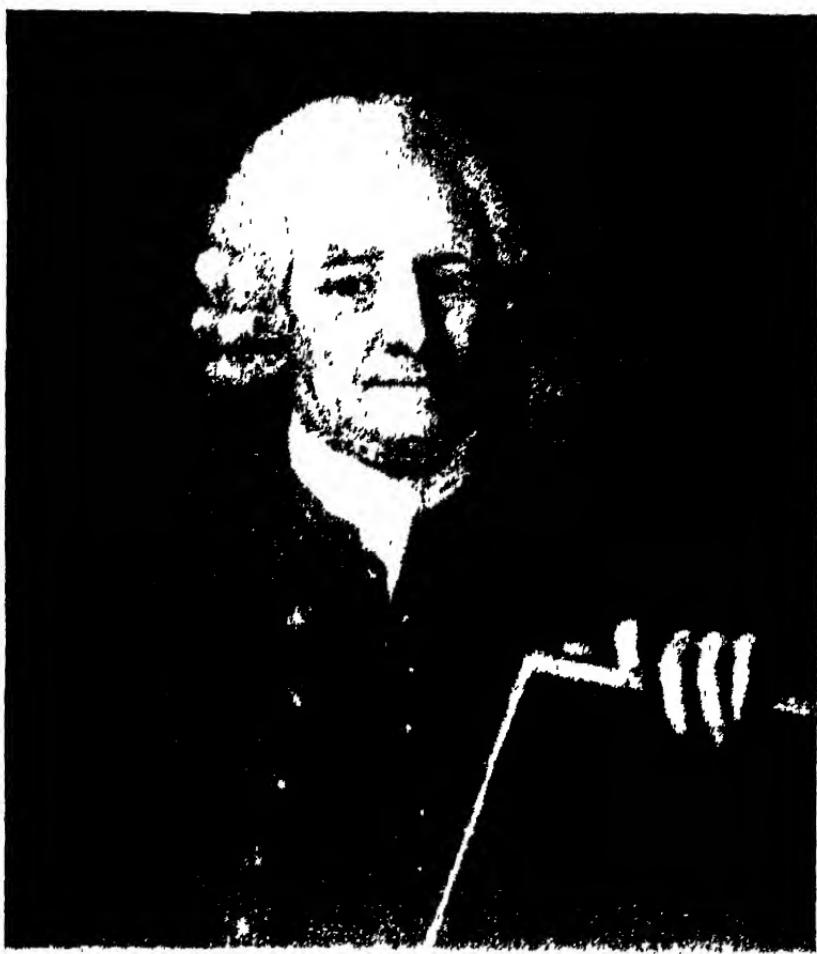


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AMERICAN RELIGION SERIES

THE NEW CHURCH IN THE NEW WORLD



THE NEW CHURCH IN THE NEW WORLD

A STUDY OF SWEDENBORGIANISM IN AMERICA

BY

MARGUERITE BECK BLOCK



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To

MY FATHER AND MOTHER

“The Church of the New Jerusalem finds its teachings in the Theological Works of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772). The formulation of these teachings from the Word was a Divine commission to him as ‘Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ’ in His Second Coming. That coming is made in the Word through the disclosure of its spiritual meaning. The Church therefore stands eminently for the conviction that the Lord has come again—in accordance with John’s vision of the New Jerusalem (Revelation XXI:2)—to renew His Kingdom on earth.”—*New-Church Messenger*.

“And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.”

P R E F A C E

In this study of the New Church in America I have not attempted to write a history of the organization for New Church people. That task I have left for some future New Church historian. I have no doubt omitted the names of many who contributed much to the upbuilding of the church in various parts of the country, and have failed to trace the development of many important local Societies. For this reason the book will seem inadequate to the members of the New Church. My purpose has been rather to write for the general public a description of an almost unknown religious body,—an answer to the puzzled question, “What is the New Church?” For it has seemed to me that, though numerically speaking this body stands close to the bottom of the list of American churches, judged qualitatively it deserves a far higher rating. When I undertook this project I knew practically nothing about the New Church, and very little about Swedenborg,—but what little I did know had piqued my interest. The promise of adventure which lures all explorers,—“Something hidden, go and find it,” has in this case been amply fulfilled. For not only has a study of the writings of Swedenborg revealed enough of deep interest and value to keep a student of religion happily at work for many a long month, but the New Church itself has proved a rich field for study along the lines of historical and social research. This book is an attempt to sketch the more colorful aspects of its history, and to show its relation to the social and cultural environment in which it has had its growth.

I have endeavored to combine a sympathetic attitude with complete objectivity, so far as that is possible. The objectivity, however, has been more difficult than the sympathy. For everywhere in the New Church I have encountered noth-

ing but unfailing kindness and coöperation,—the warmest of hospitality. I have been graciously received at business meetings and social functions, and allowed free access to libraries and to documentary material. Even the "skeleton in the closet" has not been withheld. Both at Bryn Athyn and at Urbana I have been given every opportunity to get first-hand knowledge of the theory and practice of "New Church education." If I have failed to understand what I have seen it is not the fault of the New Church. There are, however, many things which an outsider can never understand, and for such errors of misinterpretation I can only offer my profound regrets. If I have seemed to dwell too much on negative aspects of controversy it is only because to an historian such aspects are the most interesting, revealing as they do the clash of conflicting ideas and principles which characterizes human thought. Also the New Church is particularly interesting in this respect as a perfect example in miniature of what seems to be the normal course of development of any new religion. The psychological conflicts of adolescence are common to human institutions as well as to human individuals, and it is only a very old religion that has ceased to argue. The first hundred years are always the stormiest!

It is quite impossible to name all those who have helped to make this work possible, but to all my friends in the New Church I would convey, as far as words are adequate, my deep sense of obligation. I have found among them so genuine a "sphere of love toward the neighbor" that I can only regret that this book may seem to them but a poor return for so much friendliness. Especially I would like to thank those scholars of the New Church who have freely given their time to answering questions and criticizing manuscript,—the Rev. Messrs. Paul Sperry, William F. Wunsch, E. M. Lawrence Gould, Frederic R. Crownfield, Franklin H. Blackmer, Alfred Acton, Homer Synnestvedt, Reginald W. Brown, and Dr. Clarence P. Hotson. (However, it is only fair to these gentlemen to state that they are in no way responsible for anything in the book, much of which they

could not possibly agree with.) To the Swedenborg Foundation, the New-Church Board of Publication, the New-Church Theological School, and the Academy of the New Church, I owe a debt of gratitude for the use of their libraries and publications, without which this work would scarcely have been possible. But most of all I would express to Professor Herbert W. Schneider, of Columbia University, my sincere appreciation of his kindly criticism and help over the rough places.

M. B. B.

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THE NEW CHURCH IN THE NEW WORLD

CHAPTER I

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG

Emanuel Swedenborg was born in the city of Stockholm, on January 29th, 1688. His father, Jesper Swedberg, an eminent Lutheran minister, was professor of theology at Upsala University, and later Bishop of Skara. As royal chaplain at the court of Charles XI he was noted for extreme courage and frankness, and was greatly respected by the royal family. In 1719 his family was ennobled by Queen Ulrica Eleanora, under the name of Swedenborg.¹ Sarah Behm, Swedenborg's mother, who died when he was eight, was the daughter of Albert Behm, Assessor in the College of Mines. On both sides his family were connected with the mining industry, and were people of affluence and culture. Emanuel was the third in a family of eight children, all of whom were "called such names as will awaken in and remind them of the fear of God, and of everything that is orderly and righteous," to quote the good Bishop. "The name of my son Emanuel signifies 'God with us'; that he may always remember God's presence, and that intimate, holy, and mysterious conjunction with our good and gracious God, into which we are brought by faith, by which we are conjoined with Him and are in Him."²

Very little is known of Emanuel's childhood, except that he was especially devoted to his elder sister Anna, who was a second mother to him. At the age of seventeen she married Dr. Eric Benzelius, professor of theology at Upsala, later Archbishop of Upsala, and one of the most learned men in Sweden. The boy loved and admired this brother-in-law above all others, and turned to him for help and advice in all his youthful difficulties.³ Of his childhood Swedenborg wrote thus: "From my fourth to my tenth year I was constantly engaged in thought about God, salvation, and

the spiritual diseases of men, and several times I revealed things at which my father and mother wondered, saying that angels must be speaking through me. From my sixth to my twelfth year I used to delight in conversing with clergymen about faith, saying that the life of faith is love, and that the love which imparts life is love to the neighbor, also that God gives faith to every one, but that those only receive it who practice that love. I knew of no other faith at that time than that God was the Creator and Preserver of nature; that He imparts understanding and a good disposition to men, and several other things that follow thence. I knew nothing at that time of that learned faith which teaches that God the Father imputes the righteousness of His Son to whomsoever, and at such times as, He chooses, even to those who have not repented, and have not reformed their lives: and had I heard of such a faith, it would have been then, as it is now, beyond my comprehension.”⁴ Not only was the little boy a budding theologian at this tender age, but he also began to show signs of that strange psychic power which later so astonished his friends. He says that even in his infancy he became accustomed to what he called “internal respiration,” by means of which he had contact with the spiritual world, usually while saying his prayers. The boy came naturally enough by these practices, for it is recorded that his father conversed with angels, heard voices, and practiced hypnotic healing.⁵

His early education was received at home from a tutor, by whom he was prepared for the University. About this time his father received his appointment as Bishop of Skara, and Emanuel remained at Upsala, living with his sister, Anna Benzelius, while a student at the University. In 1709 he defended a classical thesis, and left the University. The major interest of his life, the natural sciences, had developed early, and he now began to make plans for foreign travel and study. In the meantime he published several volumes of poetry in Swedish and in Latin which, though highly creditable for a student, proved that he was not destined for greatness as a poet.⁶

In the year 1710, at the age of twenty-two, Swedenborg set sail from Gothenburg to London to continue his studies in mathematics, physics, astronomy, and natural history.⁷ His letters to Benzelius are full of interest, and give an excellent picture of his character. "I study Newton daily," he writes, "and am very anxious to see him. . . . Whatever is worthy of being seen in the town, I have already examined. . . . I also turn my lodgings to some use, and change them often; at first I was at a watchmaker's, afterwards at a cabinet maker's, and now I am at a mathematical instrument maker's; from them I steal their trades, which some day will be of use to me. . . . I have provided myself with a small stock of books for the study of mathematics, and also with a certain number of instruments, which are both a help and an ornament in the study of science."⁸ During his two years in London he studied astronomy with Flamsteed, the leading astronomer of the day, and began to give signs of his latent genius by making several discoveries, among which were new methods for observing the moon, stars, and planets, and a method for finding the terrestrial longitude by means of the moon.⁹

The next three years were spent in Holland and Paris where he made excellent progress in his studies, and made the acquaintance of many eminent scientists. In Leyden he learned how to grind lenses for scientific instruments, and also studied the art of engraving. In a letter dated 1714 he lists fourteen inventions for which he has drawn up plans. Among these are: "A ship which with its men was to go under the surface of the sea, wherever it chooses, and do great damage to the fleet of the enemy"; a machine which from its description sounds remarkably like a steam engine,—"the wheel will nevertheless revolve by means of the fire, which will put the water in motion; a magazine air gun to discharge sixty or more shots in succession without reloading; and a flying machine."¹⁰

After his return to Sweden he went through a period of discouragement, during which he was unable to find any proper employment for his talents. The country at this time

was very backward in science, and there were few opportunities open to the young scientist. He was now twenty-eight, and without an income. There seems to have been a certain lack of sympathy between himself and his father, and he would not ask him for money. He suggested the establishment of an observatory and a chair of mechanics at the University of Upsala, but without any success, and at last undertook the publication of a scientific journal, the first in Sweden, which he called *Daedalus Hyperboreus*. This he dedicated to the King, who granted him some financial assistance in its publication, and an appointment as Extraordinary Assessor of the Council of Mines, a splendid outlet for his energies.¹¹ He was now associated as assistant engineer with Sweden's greatest scientist, Christopher Polhem, "the Swedish Archimedes." Under Polhem's direction he accomplished the remarkable feat of transporting two galleys, five large boats, and a sloop, fourteen miles over mountains and valleys, thus enabling the King to reduce the almost impregnable Danish fortress of Friedrikshall. The King was delighted with this achievement and suggested to Polhem that he give his eldest daughter in marriage to Swedenborg. After a short engagement it was discovered that the girl had given her heart elsewhere, and Swedenborg released her. This was not wholly an altruistic act, for he had in the meantime formed a warm attachment to the younger sister, Emerentia, a girl of fifteen or sixteen. The story is that since she was too young for a formal betrothal Polhem obligingly gave Swedenborg a written contract by which he might claim her hand later. The poor girl was so unhappy over this arrangement that her brother was obliged to plead with Swedenborg for her release. The young scientist magnanimously tore up the contract and departed, vowing never again to become engaged.¹²

There now followed another painful period of dejection, which was intensified by strained family relations. A new brother-in-law had succeeded in estranging him from the entire family with the exception of Anna and Eric Benzelius. Also his scientific work was not appreciated, and he began to

realize that his only hope of making a place for himself in the world of science was to leave Sweden. He therefore asked for a leave of absence, and in 1721 he went abroad for the purpose of studying the mining and manufacturing methods of other lands. During this journey he published six scientific works on chemistry, metallurgy, astronomical methods, dock embankments, and navigation, the expenses being defrayed by a new patron, the Duke of Brunswick.¹³ At the end of the year he returned home full of new ideas for increasing the yield of copper ore, for improvements in the manufacture of steel, and other economic measures. The next ten years of his life were spent in active service in the mining districts, and in Stockholm in the House of Nobles. The papers read by him in the Swedish Parliament show his wide range of interests, and his intensely practical turn of mind. Their subjects include the reform of the currency, the adoption of the decimal system, the establishment of rolling mills, the balance of trade, and the regulation of the sale of liquor. In his leisure hours he worked continuously on his first great work, the *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*, which appeared in three large volumes, beginning in 1734. The first volume, the famous *Principia; or, the first principles of Natural things, being new attempts toward a philosophical explanation of the elementary world*, contains the remarkable system of cosmology which underlies his later theological work. The other two volumes deal with technical matters in the science of metallurgy. This tremendous work, published in Leipzig and Dresden, brought him to the notice of the scientific world, and won for him at the age of forty-six the friendship of scientists and philosophers all over Europe.¹⁴

His next scientific venture was in an entirely new field, that of anatomy and physiology, its purpose being to discover by scientific means that elusive substance, the human soul. After another period of active service in his official position in Sweden, he again secured a leave of absence during which he traveled extensively in Germany, France and Italy, studying with the leading anatomists of his day, and

working in the medical libraries of the various universities. The result of his studies was the publication in 1740-1741 of *The Economy of the Animal Kingdom*, and in 1744-1745 of a sequel to it called simply *The Animal Kingdom*. Another work, *The Soul, or Rational Psychology*, was also written in this period, though not published until after his death. These three books prove Swedenborg to have been in the front rank of the science of his time, and a forerunner of modern psychology. The last work of this period of his life, *The Worship and Love of God*, was a little excursion into the realm of philosophy, in which he had always been deeply interested. The philosophers for whom he had the greatest admiration were Aristotle, Bacon, Locke, and Christian Wolff, a somewhat prosaic though varied group.¹⁵ But strangely enough, *The Worship and Love of God* is very far from prosaic, suggesting somewhat a Platonic creation myth. This charmingly fanciful little book proves that the youthful poet of the Latin verses still lurks under the disguise of the middle-aged scientist. And it marked the end of his career as a scientist and philosopher.

Swedenborg at this time was fifty-seven years old, at the height of his eminence both as a scientist and as a statesman, and in the pink of his physical prime. His scientific achievements had been remarkable, both for their variety and their originality. As a pioneer in the field of geology he ranks with Linnæus and Torbern Bergman, and in paleontology he was the predecessor of all the Scandinavian geologists. He arrived at the nebular hypothesis before Kant and Laplace, and anticipated many of the cosmological views of Buffon, G. H. Darwin, Wright and Lambert. His most remarkable anticipations of the theories of modern science were with regard to the brain and the nervous system, including the localization of the motor centers in the cortex one hundred and fifty years before any other scientist. Anders Retzius, the great anatomist and anthropologist, said that *The Animal Kingdom* is a "wonder book" in which are found "ideas belonging to the most recent times, a compass,

induction and tendency, which can only be compared to that of Aristotle.”¹⁶

What was the personality of this “mastodon of literature,” as Emerson calls him? The answer to this question is to be found in a great mass of excellent documentary material: his own diaries, his letters and the letters of his friends; and the testimony of his contemporaries. There is probably no better documented personality in all history than Emanuel Swedenborg. From various portraits and descriptions we know that he was a handsome man, slender in build, and extremely agile, with an expression of contemplative, slightly detached benevolence. Pastor Collin, of the Swedes’ Church in Philadelphia, who had visited him, when a student at Upsala, says: “Being very old when I saw him [78], he was thin and pale, but still retained traces of beauty, and something very pleasing in his physiognomy, and a dignity in his tall erect stature.” He was noted for affability, and gracious simplicity in social intercourse, and was a highly valued dinner guest. There was nothing of the uncouth and unkempt recluse about him. He was meticulous in his dress, usually appearing at social functions in black velvet, fine lace, jeweled sword and buckles,—a typical eighteenth century aristocrat. But aside from dressing in a costume suitable to his high rank, he lived in the utmost simplicity. His home in Stockholm was unpretentious, though surrounded by a handsome Dutch garden of which he was extremely proud, with a labyrinth of clipped box. His only servants were an old couple, the gardener and his wife, who spent their lives in his service. When away from home he lived in cheap lodgings, usually in the homes of humble tradespeople, who were always exceedingly fond of him. He was also a great favorite with their children for whom he kept supplies of chocolates in his rooms. Like the greatest of twentieth century scientists, he had the naïve simplicity and gentleness of a child.¹⁷

From his letters and travel diaries we learn that he was an indefatigable sightseer, methodically recording all he saw in museums, churches, and public institutions. He was full

of awe for the wonders of nature, but had little interest in the plastic arts, though very fond of music and the theater. He had an intense interest in religion, conversing at length with priests and theologians of all denominations. His own religion at this time, though always internally very real, was externally a rather perfunctory Lutheranism, though during his residence in London he attended the Moravian Chapel in Fetter Lane. In his diary in 1744 he writes: "By various circumstances I was led into the church belonging to the Moravian Brethren, who maintain that they are the true Lutherans, and that they feel the influx of the Holy Spirit, as they tell each other; further that they have respect only to God's grace, to Christ's blood and merit, and that they go about in simplicity. On this subject I shall speak more fully some other time; for as yet I am not allowed to join their brotherhood. . . . I am with them and yet not accepted by them." Later, however, he criticized them severely for their doctrinal errors, as well as for their exclusiveness and lack of charity.¹⁸

The change from scientist to theologian was not a sudden one. He had undertaken his exhaustive studies in anatomy and physiology with the avowed purpose of finding the human soul, and demonstrating its existence by the scientific method. In the prologue to *The Animal Kingdom* he wrote: "These pages of mine are written with a view to those only who never believe anything but what they can receive with the intellect; consequently who boldly invalidate, and are fain to deny, the existence of all supereminent things, sublimer than themselves, as the soul itself, and what follows therefrom,—its life, immortality, heaven, etc." This then was the purpose of all the years of hard study,—to combat by scientific and rationalistic methods the scientific and rationalistic materialism of his day. It was science with an ulterior motive. The little boy who had discussed theology at the age of six, was only temporarily submerged in the great scientist. His own religious faith had never wavered. He had felt no conflict between faith and reason, and therefore it seemed to him a simple, albeit tremendous, task to

reunite science and religion in an indissoluble bond for all the world. And he had entered upon this vast project with serene and quiet confidence in its success. But somewhere in the going he had struck a snag. Suddenly the affair had become not so simple as he had anticipated. He became dissatisfied with the results of his scientific researches,—the truth was still eluding him. He began a new *Animal Kingdom* to remedy the deficiencies of the first,—but it was never finished. Emanuel Swedenborg had come to the end of his scientific work. In 1749 there was published in London anonymously the first volume of an extraordinary work called the *Arcana Coelestia* in the introduction to which the author says: "It has been granted me now for several years to be constantly and uninterruptedly in company with spirits and angels, hearing them converse with each other, and conversing with them. Hence it has been permitted me to hear and see things in another life which are astonishing, and which have never before come to the knowledge of any man, nor entered into his imagination."¹⁰

The story of the experiences which had thus drastically transformed his life is told in the diary he kept from March to October of the year 1744. The experiences came mostly at night, and during the day he went about his business as usual, no one noticing any change in him. A list of his dreams during the preceding December indicate how profound was the psychological disturbance. He began to have a deep conviction of sin, especially the sins of intellectual pride and impurity of thought. Along with this intense feeling of unworthiness there was a strong conviction that he was about to be called to some sort of spiritual work. He dimly felt that this required the giving up of his scientific career, a sacrifice he was loath to make. His mental suffering was undoubtedly very severe. He fasted and prayed, had strange dreams and phantasies, tremors, prostrations, trances, sweatings, and swoonings. He alternated between moods of deepest gloom and states of ecstatic joy. And all the while he watched himself with a coldly scientific eye, kept a careful record of his experiences, and often wondered

whether it were not "all mere phantasy." He was extremely puzzled by the whole affair. It was indeed a cataclysmic experience for a staid scientific gentleman in his fifty-sixth year! This strange condition continued for several months, until one night in April, there appeared to him in his room a man, who said that "He was the Lord God, the Creator of the world,—and the Redeemer, and that He had chosen me to explain to men the spiritual sense of the Scripture, and that He Himself would explain to me what I should write on this subject; that same night also were opened to me, so that I became thoroughly convinced of their reality, the world of spirits, heaven and hell, and I recognized there many acquaintances of every condition of life. From that day I gave up the study of all worldly science, and laboured in spiritual things, according as the Lord had commanded me to write. Afterwards the Lord opened, daily very often, the eyes of my spirit, so that in the middle of the day I could see into the other world, and in a state of perfect wakefulness converse with angels and spirits."²⁰

It is thoroughly characteristic of Swedenborg that he did not rely simply on divine guidance in his new task, but went to work in his scholarly way to make himself master of his new field of Biblical studies, just as he had made himself master of the various branches of physical science. Latin and Greek were already, of course, part of his intellectual equipment, but now he had to go to work and learn the Hebrew language as well. For two years he studied the Scripture, making copious notes, which fill the nine large volumes of the *Adversaria*. During these years he kept a *Spiritual Diary* in which he recorded his experiences in the spiritual world with the same dry, scientific precision with which he had recorded his earthly travels. He was all the time carrying on his arduous duties on the Royal Board of Mines, and in the House of Nobles, and now it became apparent to him that this new mission would require all his time and strength. His decision to resign from his official position was probably hastened by the fact that in 1747 he was offered a promotion to the position of Councilor of

Mines involving higher honors and duties. This he refused, "lest my heart should be inspired with pride," as he stated his reason. He then sent the following petition to the King: "I would most humbly ask Your Royal Majesty to select another in my place in this position, and most graciously release me from office, . . . but without bestowing upon me any higher rank; which I most earnestly beseech you not to do. I further pray that I may receive half of my salary, and that you will graciously grant me leave to go abroad, to some place where I may finish the important work on which I am now engaged." This request was granted, and with it ended Swedenborg's long years of public service.²¹

The following year a dignified old gentleman took lodgings in an unfashionable quarter of London for the modest sum of six shillings a week, and settled down to his great task of revealing to the world the "inner sense of the Word," as it had been revealed to him. In the beginning of the *Arcana* he says: "It will be seen that the first chapter of Genesis, in its internal sense, treats of the New Creation of man, of his Regeneration, in general, and specifically of the most ancient church; and this in such a manner that there is not a single syllable which does not represent, signify, and involve something spiritual."²² The book was written in his usual scientific Latin, and only four copies of it were sold in the first two months. He had chosen England, and later Holland, for the publication of his theological works because only in those two countries could such unorthodox writings have been printed at that time. Besides, ever since his student days he had had a special fondness for the English. He says that in the other world "the better among the English" are in the center of all the Christians.²³ It is therefore not unfitting that England should have been the birthplace of the New Church. But he spent most of the last twenty-five years of his life, during which he wrote the great bulk of his theological works, in his home in Stockholm, making occasional trips to London or Amsterdam with the precious manuscript when it was ready for the printer.

During these years he was by no means a recluse, but went

about among his noble friends as usual. He continued to take an active part in the political life of his country, and was seldom absent from his seat in the House of Nobles. The Prime Minister, Count Höpken, who was one of his closest friends, said: "The most solid and best written memorials at the Diet of 1761 on matters of finance were presented by Swedenborg." These related to the decay of commerce due to the war, and advocated the establishment of rolling mills for which he presented drawings of the necessary machinery. He also wrote a paper for the Royal Academy of Science of which he was an honored member, having been presented for membership by his friend Linnaeus, many years before, and republished one of his early astronomical works. But all the while he was working day and night on the eight volumes of the *Arcana*, and other theological works. By 1760 it had become known that he was the author of these strange new heretical writings, and indeed he had never at any time denied his authorship. Naturally this caused a furor among his friends, as well as in ecclesiastical circles. Jung-Stilling says: "Unexpectedly to everybody this intelligent, learned, and pious man began to have intercourse with spirits. He made no secret of this, but frequently at table, even in large companies, and in the midst of the most rational and scientific conversations, would say, 'On this point I conversed not long ago with the Apostle Paul, with Luther, or some other deceased person.'" No one doubted his veracity, though many thought him self-deceived. His friend, Count Höpken, remonstrated with him for publishing his visions along with his theology, as they exposed him to doubt and ridicule, but Swedenborg replied: "I was commanded by the Lord to publish them. Do not suppose that without such a positive order I should have thought of publishing things which I well knew many would regard as falsehoods, and which would bring ridicule upon myself."²⁴

It was Swedenborg's idea that the new teachings would be accepted first by the intelligentsia, and later filter down to the masses in a simplified form suited to their degree of in-

telligence. To this end he continued to write in Latin, and to disseminate his works at his own expense where he thought they would be understood, that is, among scientists, scholars, the nobility, and the higher clergy of the Protestant countries. To a friend he wrote: "The universities in Christendom are now first being instructed, whence will come new ministers." And it was in the universities, among the higher clergy, and the educated aristocracy, that he found his first followers. But along with the growing interest in the new theological system came an equally growing hostility in the high places of the orthodox religion. The first instance of persecution was in Germany in 1766. A book by Prelate F. C. Oettinger called *The Earthly and Heavenly Philosophy of Swedenborg and Others* was confiscated by the government of Württemberg as heretical, and the author reprimanded after a public defense before the Duke. The first book published by Swedenborg under his own name in his new religious series, *The Delights of Wisdom Concerning Conjugal Love*, was not allowed by the Lutheran Consistory to enter Sweden, fifty copies imported by Swedenborg himself from Amsterdam being held up at the custom house by order of Bishop Filenius. The Consistory had by this time begun to examine his works, "whether there be any real evil in them." The first victims of persecution in Sweden were Dr. Gabriel Beyer, Professor of Greek at Gothenburg, and his colleague, Dr. Johan Rosen, Professor of Eloquence and Poetry, who were tried by the Consistory, and forbidden to teach theology in the college on account of their bold defense of Swedenborg's doctrines. The Consistory now succeeded in obtaining a royal resolution forbidding the teaching of Swedenborg's doctrines, and an order for the confiscation of his books. Swedenborg sent a memorial to the King protesting against this persecution of his followers and his writings, but by this time he had too many enemies in the State Church to rely on royal favor. It was only the fact of his high social and political standing, his reputation as a scientist, and his influential friends and relatives that protected him from persecution. In 1769, however, his enemies

had the boldness to concoct a plot to have him tried for insanity. It was discovered by one of his friends who rushed to inform him of it and advise him to flee the country. Though deeply disturbed the old man staunchly held his ground, relying on the Lord's protection, and the plot did not materialize.²⁵

In July, 1770, at the age of eighty-two, Swedenborg left his native land for the last time. He told his friends that if they did not meet again on earth they would certainly meet in the other world. He went first to Amsterdam to arrange for the publication of his latest work, *The True Christian Religion*, containing the complete theology for the New Church. He said that "after this book was finished the Lord had called together his twelve disciples, who had followed Him in the world; and the next day He sent them all forth into the universal spiritual world, to preach the gospel that the Lord Jesus Christ reigneth, whose kingdom shall be for ages and ages. . . . This took place on the nineteenth of June, in the year 1770. . . . After the appearance of this book the Lord will operate both mediately and immediately towards the establishment throughout the whole of Christendom, of the New Church based upon this Theology."²⁶ His last work, the *Coronis*, concerning the consummation of the age, written in 1771, was not published until after his death.

In September, 1771, Swedenborg reached London, where he spent the last six months of his life, looking forward to the happy event which he knew was not far off. "Believe me," he said to a friend, "if I knew that the Lord would call me to Himself to-morrow, I would summon the musicians to-day in order to be once more really gay in this world." He lived very quietly in the house of Robert Shearsmith, a perukemaker, working as usual day and night on his writings. He never had kept regular hours, but worked until he was tired, slept until he was rested, and ate whenever he happened to feel hungry. In spite of this peculiar régime he enjoyed excellent health all his life. He seldom went to church in his later years, because the sermons

annoyed him, and worked on Sundays just as he did on other days. A short time before his death he wrote to John Wesley to whom he had sent some of his theological works, as follows: "Sir,—I have been informed in the world of spirits that you have a desire to converse with me; I shall be happy to see you if you will favour me with a visit." Wesley was greatly surprised, and admitted that it was true,—he had desired to talk with the author of the astonishing books. But he replied that he was about to go on a month's journey, and would call upon his return. To this Swedenborg answered that a month would be too late, as he expected to go to the spiritual world forever on the twenty-ninth of the following month,—which, as a matter of fact, was the exact date of his death.²⁷

In December he had had a severe paralytic stroke, and had lain unconscious for about three weeks, but he recovered somewhat from its effects. This was followed for about ten days by an "infestation" from evil spirits of the worst sort, who tormented him day and night. Finally they departed and his good spirit companions returned to be with him until the end. His friend, the Rev. Arvid Ferelius, former pastor of the Swedish Church, was with him a great deal during his illness. It was he who administered the last sacrament, since Swedenborg refused to receive it from the hands of the Rev. Aaron Mathesius, who was the pastor at that time and a violent enemy of the new doctrines. Shortly before he died Ferelius asked him solemnly if he wished to retract any of the things he had written. Swedenborg raised himself, laid his hand upon his heart and said: "As true as you see me before your eyes, so true is everything that I have written, and I could have said more had it been permitted. When you enter eternity you will see everything, and then you and I shall have much to talk about." When the Shearsmiths came in to inquire how he was he asked the time, and they replied that it was nearly five. He answered: "That is good. Thank you. God bless you." He then bade them farewell, and passed away quietly a few minutes later.²⁸

He was buried quite simply in the small Swedish Church near the Tower of London, unknown among strangers. It was not for more than a hundred years that Sweden began to realize that Emanuel Swedenborg was one of her greatest sons, and desire to do him proper homage. With the consent of the British government his remains were disinterred on April 7th, 1908, and conveyed on the frigate *Fylgia* with royal pomp to his native land. There he was interred in the Cathedral of Upsala, his childhood home, where he now lies in a handsome sarcophagus which was unveiled in the presence of King Gustav V, on November 19th, 1910.²⁹

CHAPTER II

“THE HEAVENLY DOCTRINES”

In his introduction to *A Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church*, published in Amsterdam in 1769, Swedenborg says: “Several works and tracts having been published by me, during some years past, concerning the New Jerusalem, by which is meant the New Church about to be established by the Lord; and the *Apocalypse* having been revealed, I have come to a determination to bring to light the entire doctrine of that church in its fullness. But, as this is a work of some years, I have thought it advisable to draw up some sketch thereof, in order that a general idea may first be formed of that church and its doctrine.”¹ This work of which he speaks, *The True Christian Religion, containing the Whole Theology of the New Church*, was published two years later. In *A Brief Exposition* Swedenborg gives an outline of the proposed work, which may serve the student as a framework for a study of the doctrines. It is called “A Sketch of the Doctrinals of the New Church,” and begins with this statement: “This doctrine, which is not only a doctrine of faith, but also of life, will be divided in the work itself into three parts.

The First Part will treat:

- I. Of the Lord God the Saviour, and of the Divine Trinity in Him.
- II. Of the Sacred Scripture, and its Two Senses, the Natural and the Spiritual, and of its Holiness thence derived.
- III. Of Love to God, and Love towards our Neighbor, and of their Agreement.
- IV. Of Faith, and its Conjunction with those Two Loves.

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- V. Of the Doctrine of Life from the Commandments of the Decalogue.
- VI. Of Reformation and Regeneration.
- VII. Of Free-Will, and Man's Co-operation with the Lord thereby.
- VIII. Of Baptism.
- IX. Of the Holy Supper.
- X. Of Heaven and Hell.
- XI. Of Man's Conjunction therewith, and of the State of Man's Life after Death according to that Conjunction.
- XII. Of Eternal Life.

The Second Part will treat:

- I. Of the Consummation of the Age, or End of the present Church.
- II. Of the Coming of the Lord.
- III. Of the Last Judgment.
- IV. Of the New Church, which is the New Jerusalem.

The Third Part will point out the Disagreements between the dogmas of the present church, and those of the New Church."²

As a matter of fact all these topics had already been dealt with by Swedenborg in the various theological works which he had published in the preceding twenty years, and it only remained for him to gather together the vastly complicated mass of material into a closely-knit, logical system of thought. And this he accomplished ably in *The True Christian Religion*. But in order to understand the development of this system it is necessary to go back to the beginning. In 1745 Swedenborg had given up the study of "worldly science," and turned his mind and energies to the study of the Bible. The result of this preliminary study was a series of notebooks containing a commentary on the Old Testament from Genesis to Jeremiah, which when published filled nine octavo volumes. It is called the *Adversaria*. These notes were obviously not intended for publication, but are an invaluable record of his methods of study. They

begin with a treatise called “The History of Creation, as related by Moses,” which is the first fruit of his spiritual insight after his illumination. It deals with the literal sense of the text, as he had not yet begun to perceive the hidden spiritual meanings. Another treatise, “Explanation of the historical Word of the Old Testament,” finished the following year, marks the second step, the discovery of an interior sense, which he describes as follows: “That in the Mosaic account of creation there is everywhere a double meaning of the words, viz., a spiritual as well as a natural, appears clearly to the apprehension of every man from the tree of life and the tree of knowledge in the midst of the garden: for life and knowledge are spiritual, and yet are attributed to a tree, for this reason, that whatever originates in the ultimate parts of nature, on account of deriving its origin from heaven, involves something celestial in what is terrestrial, or something spiritual in what is natural; and it does so on this ground, that everything that is represented in the Divine mind, cannot but be carried out in reality in the ultimate parts of nature, and be formed there according to the idea of heaven. There results thence a correspondence of all things, which, with Divine permission, we shall follow out in its proper series.” (*Adversaria*, I, no. 23.) It is only the first degree of the interior sense, however, which is revealed in the *Adversaria*, that is, the Spiritual-natural, or interior historical sense of the Word, in which, by the individual persons mentioned in the Word, is understood the Church or the Kingdom of God as it exists among mankind at large.⁸ This interior historical sense was later worked out fully in the *Arcana Coelestia*.

During this period Swedenborg also prepared a Biblical concordance for his own use, later published under the title *Index to the historical books of the Old Testament*. This index was later extended to include several of the Prophets, and developed into a dictionary of correspondences as well. He also kept a record of his experiences in the spiritual world during the years 1747 and 1748, called the *Memorabilia, or Spiritual Diary*. As his intimate knowledge of this

new realm of being increased, his perceptions deepened until he was able to penetrate into the next degree of the interior sense of the Word, that is, the true internal, or spiritual sense. In his notes on Genesis and Exodus, written on the margin of his Latin Bible, he reveals this inner sense as a psychological record of the development of the Lord's Kingdom in individual human minds. Of Genesis he says: "Chapter I treats of the creation of human minds, or of what is usually called the regeneration of men; for human minds are equal to nothing during infancy, and when they are born are simply conceived, or in a state of potency."⁴ But now the inmost, or celestial, degree of his mind was opened, enabling him to acquire a deeper knowledge of correspondences. For this purpose he began again a detailed study of the Prophets, making the following preliminary statement: "In Isaiah, from beginning to end, occur double expressions, viz., such as have respect to celestial, and others that have respect to spiritual things; these are expressed in a particular, a general, and a universal sense in such a manner that everywhere therein the celestial marriage is represented. For in their interiors these expressions have reference to God-Messiah and to the Church, so that everywhere, in each single part, the kingdom of God-Messiah is represented as in an image; and, indeed, not only in the whole series of each verse, and in the phrases of which it consists, but also in each word; from which the Divine nature of this prophecy is made sufficiently evident."⁵ This "celestial marriage" of which he speaks is the marriage of Divine Love and Divine Wisdom which union is the very essence of God, and which by correspondence exists in varying degrees throughout the entire universe. "From Divine Love and from Divine Wisdom, which make the very essence that is God, all affections and thoughts with man have their rise,—affections from Divine Love, and thoughts from Divine Wisdom; and each and all things of man are nothing but affection and thought; these two are like fountains of all things of man's life."⁶ It is these two essentials of the divine nature which appear in the internal senses of the Word,—Divine Love in the

inmost, or celestial sense, and Divine Wisdom in the spiritual sense.

By 1747 Swedenborg had begun his *magnum opus*, the *Arcana Coelestia*, though he was also still at work on a comprehensive index of the Old and, later, the New Testament. The text he used was the Schmidius Latin translation, made by Sebastian Schmidt, a Lutheran theologian of the seventeenth century, the reason for his choice being that Schmidt had adhered more closely to the actual words of the original than other translators. Naturally this verbal exactness was of the utmost importance for the working out of correspondences. But Swedenborg also used the Greek and Hebrew texts, and made his own translations, revising the Schmidius text whenever he found it necessary. The *Arcana* was published anonymously in London between the years 1749 and 1756 in a Latin edition of eight volumes. The first five volumes contain an explanation of the internal sense of Genesis, and the last three that of Exodus. The *Arcana* also contains an account of "the wonderful things which have been seen in the world of spirits and in the heaven of angels."⁷ This tremendous work, which in the English translation in twelve volumes fills eight thousand pages, contains the outline of his entire theological and philosophical system and furnishes much of the material so fully elaborated in the later theological writings. The Rev. William F. Wunsch, in his handbook to the *Arcana*, *The World Within the Bible*, says that if all the theological, cosmological and eschatological material were removed, the central core of the *Arcana* could be put into a volume of three hundred pages.⁸ The principal criticism made of Swedenborg's method is that it is merely another allegorical interpretation similar to those of Philo, Origen, etc., which of course were purely human speculations. But the disciples of Swedenborg have taken special pains to prove that this is a fallacy. Dr. James Moffat, in a review of Mr. Wunsch's book, admits that he has demonstrated satisfactorily that the "inner sense" is not allegorical.⁹ "The *Arcana*," says Mr. Wunsch, "is not attempting an allegorical interpretation of the letter.

It is not at war with the historical and grammatical interpretation of the first meaning of Scripture. There is such a first meaning, or, in the *Arcana's* phrase, sense of the letter. It is to be studied and expounded by its own exegesis. The *Arcana* goes past that meaning altogether to a distinct body of truth beyond.”¹⁰

Swedenborg is very explicit in his statement of the divine nature of his revelation. “When I think of what I am about to write, and while I am in the act of writing, I enjoy a perfect inspiration, for otherwise it would be my own; but now I know for certain that what I write is the living truth of God.”¹¹ It was for the purpose of revealing to the world the “Heavenly Doctrines,” the theology of the new, and the *true* Christianity, that he had been prepared by the Lord through a long lifetime of painstaking scientific and philosophical studies, and had been “intromitted” into the world of spirits and allowed to experience in full consciousness the hidden, interior life of the human spirit. For this purpose was the inner sense of the Word revealed to him. In the *Arcana* he says: “The inner sense of the Word has been dictated to me out of Heaven.”¹² This doctrine is therefore the cornerstone of his theology. “It is on everyone’s lips that the Word is from God, is divinely inspired, and is therefore holy; and yet it has not been known heretofore where in the Word its Divinity resides. For in its letter the Word appears like ordinary writing, foreign in style, neither lofty nor brilliant as the writings of the present time are in appearance. For this reason the man who worships nature instead of God or more than God, and whose thought therefore is from himself and his selfhood and not from the Lord out of heaven, may easily fall into error respecting the Word, and into contempt for it, and when reading it may say to himself, What does this and that mean? Is this Divine? Can God whose wisdom is infinite speak thus? . . . Any man who does not know that there is a certain spiritual sense contained in the Word, like a soul in its body, must needs judge of it from the sense of its letter; when yet this sense is like an envelope enclosing precious things, which are its

spiritual sense . . . The Word in its bosom is spiritual, because it is descended from Jehovah the Lord, and passed through the angelic heavens; and in its descent the Divine itself, which in itself is ineffable and unperceivable, became adapted to the perception of the angels, and finally to the perception of men. . . . There is also a third, or inmost sense, called the celestial sense, which is perceived only by the angels of the celestial heaven. . . . The Word in its inmost depths, because of its celestial sense, is like a gentle flame that enkindles, and in its intermediate depths, because of its spiritual sense, is like a light that enlightens, so in its outmost, because of its natural sense, it is like a transparent object receiving both the flame and the light."¹³

The knowledge of correspondences, which Swedenborg says was revealed to him in order that he might discover and give to the world these hidden mysteries, is by no means an "open sesame" by means of which any one by using a dictionary of correspondences can reach the holy of holies. He says: "Henceforth the spiritual sense of the Word will be given only to such as are in genuine truths from the Lord, . . . for the spiritual sense of the Word treats of the Lord alone, and His kingdom. . . . That truth man can do violence to when he possesses a knowledge of correspondences, and by means of it seeks to explore the spiritual sense of the Word from his own intelligence; since by a few correspondences known to him he is able to confirm even what is false. . . . Therefore if any one seeks to open that sense, not from the Lord but from himself, heaven is closed; and when heaven is closed man either sees nothing of truth or is spiritually insane."¹⁴ This is in accordance with Swedenborg's teaching that spiritual truths can never be discerned merely by the use of the human intellect, but must come as an influx into the interiors of the mind from the heavens. Therefore if a man is seeking spiritual truth for selfish reasons he automatically closes the channel through which the spiritual influx must come, his own spiritual nature which is the very antithesis of "self."¹⁵

With regard to doctrine, Swedenborg says that it "should

be drawn from the letter of the Word and confirmed by it. This is because the Lord is present, and teaches and enlightens; for the Lord never operates except in fullness, and in the sense of the letter of the Word is its fullness. . . . It may be supposed that the doctrine of genuine truth can be acquired by means of the spiritual sense of the Word, which is given through a knowledge of correspondences; but doctrine is not acquired by means of that sense, but only illustrated and corroborated. . . . Genuine Truth, of which doctrine must consist, can be seen in the sense of the letter of the Word only by those who are in enlightenment from the Lord. . . . There is conjunction with the Lord by means of the Word because He is the Word, that is, the essential Divine truth and good therein. This conjunction is effected by means of the sense of the letter, because the Word in that sense is in its fullness, in its holiness, and in its power.”¹⁶ It is clear from these quotations that Swedenborg in no way minimizes the literal sense of the Scripture nor exalts the esoteric above the exoteric meaning. This is consistent with his teaching that throughout the universe the Divine is to be found, not apart from the natural, but *within* the very “ultimates” of the natural world, for the ultimate is the Basis, the Containant, and the Support of the first, or *esse*. “Every Divine work is complete and perfect in its ultimate.”¹⁷

But not *all* the books of the Bible contain an inner sense. Swedenborg says: “The Books of the Word are all those that have an internal sense, and those which have no internal sense are not the Word. The books of the Word in the Old Testament are the five books of Moses, the book of Joshua, the book of Judges, the two books of Samuel, the two books of the Kings, the Psalms of David, the Prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; and in the New Testament, the four Gospels, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John; and the Revelation.”¹⁸ This apparently arbitrary division of the Scripture into two parts, the inspired and the unin-

spired, seems to have been arrived at by Swedenborg after long years of study,—he does not say that it was by revelation. Mr. Wunsch says: “He did not conceive it arbitrarily. In unpublished Bible studies he had felt out the internal sense in this book of Scripture, and that. As his method of exposition became precise, one book yielded a deeper sense, and another did not. Job yielded such a sense only here and there, and not a connected one, and so does not appear in the list finally. On Habakkuk he left a note putting to himself the question whether it belonged in his list. . . . He says of the Epistles: ‘They are doctrinal writings, and consequently not written in the style of the Word. . . . They were so written by the Apostles that the new Christian Church might be commenced through them. Matters of doctrine could not be written in the style of the Word, but had to be expressed in a manner to be understood more clearly and intimately.’”¹⁰

Swedenborg begins the *Arcana* with an explanation of the inner sense of Genesis as treating of the spiritual history of man. “The six days, or periods, which are so many successive states of the regeneration of man, are in general as follows: The *first* state is that which precedes, including both the state from infancy, and that immediately before regeneration. This is called a ‘void,’ ‘emptiness,’ and ‘thick darkness.’ And the first motion, which is the Lord’s mercy, is ‘the Spirit of God moving upon the face of the waters.’ The *second* state is when a distinction is made between those things which are of the Lord, and those which are proper to man. The things which are of the Lord are called in the Word ‘remains,’ and here are especially knowledges of faith, which have been learned from infancy, and which are stored up, and are not manifested until a man comes into this state. . . . The *third* state is that of repentance, in which the man, from his internal man, speaks piously and devoutly, and brings forth goods, like works of charity, but which nevertheless are inanimate, because he thinks they are from himself. These goods are called the ‘tender grass,’ and also the ‘herb yielding seed,’ and afterwards the ‘tree bearing

fruit.' The *fourth* state is when the man becomes affected with love, and illuminated by faith, . . . wherefore faith and charity are now enkindled in his internal man, and are called two 'luminaries'. . . . The *fifth* state is when the man discourses from faith, and thereby confirms himself in truth and good: the things then produced by him are animate, and are called the 'fish of the sea,' and the 'birds of the Heavens.' The *sixth* state is when, from faith, and thence from love, he speaks what is true, and does what is good: the things which he then brings forth are called the 'living soul' and the 'beast.' And as he then begins to act at once and together from both faith and love, he becomes a spiritual man, who is called an 'image.'"²⁰

Swedenborg also expounds in the *Arcana* the Spiritual-natural, or interior historical, sense, that is, the spiritual development of the race itself. "By 'man' is here meant the spiritual man who is called Israel; by 'ancient times,' the Most Ancient Church; by 'beginnings,' the Ancient Church after the flood." The Most Ancient Church was a celestial church, the celestial man being the "seventh day" of creation, on which the Lord rested. This celestial race "perceived states of love and faith by states of respiration, which were successively changed in their posterity. Of this respiration nothing can as yet be said, because at this day such things are altogether unknown." This celestial race lived in the "Garden of Eden," by which is signified "the intelligence of the celestial man, which flows in from the Lord through love." They perceived the inner sense of the Word, but this inner sense was lost among their posterity, and could never be restored except by revelation. "Adam" is the generic name for this first race, and "Noah" is the name of the Church as it existed among their descendants. "There are in the Word, in general, four different styles. The *first* of these is that of the Most Ancient Church. Their mode of expression was such that when they mentioned terrestrial and worldly things they thought of the spiritual and celestial things which these represented. They therefore not only expressed themselves by representatives, but also formed

these into a kind of historical series, in order to give them more life, and this was delightful to them in the very highest degree.” The “Perception” by which these celestial men understood the inner sense of the Word is signified by the word “tree.” The “tree of lives,” love and faith thence derived, and the “tree of the knowledge of good and evil,” faith derived from what is sensuous, that is, from mere memory-knowledge (*scientia*). This perception is a “certain internal sensation, from the Lord alone, as to whether a thing is true and good . . . The spiritual man has no perception, but has conscience.” The angels have perception to a high degree.²¹

The men of the Most Ancient Church were contented to “be alone,” which signifies to be led by the Lord, but their posterity desired independence and self-guidance, that is, they “inclined to their Own (*proprium*).” So the Lord took from them a “rib,” which signifies man’s Own, and breathed life into it, and built it into a “woman.” “The Own of man, when viewed from heaven, appears like a something that is wholly bony, inanimate, and very ugly, consequently as being in itself dead, but when vivified by the Lord it looks like flesh.” The angels know that they have no life from themselves, it is only man who imagines that his life is his own. “By the ‘serpent’ is here meant the sensuous part of man in which he trusts,” that is, sense impressions, by which he was beguiled through his selfhood, the only part of him capable of being deceived, into examining the things of faith from sense-knowledge. “. . . This was the fourth posterity of the Most Ancient Church who suffered themselves to be seduced by self-love and were unwilling to believe what was revealed, unless they saw it confirmed by the things of sense and of memory-knowledge.”²² Thus in the inner sense of the Word the Fall of Man is revealed as, not a sin of the flesh, but what is a far more serious matter, the sin of intellectual pride. “The evil of the Most Ancient Church which existed before the flood, as well as that of the Ancient Church after the flood, and also that of the Jewish Church, and subsequently the evil of the new

church, or church of the Gentiles, after the coming of the Lord, and also that of the church of the present day, was and is that they do not believe the Lord or the Word, but themselves and their own senses."²³

The "flood" by which the Most Ancient Church was destroyed was a "flood or inundation of falsities" resulting from this misuse of the reason. "Noah" represents the remnant of the posterity of the Most Ancient Church who could be endowed with charity, or were capable of regeneration. "Noah begat three sons" signifies that three kinds of doctrine thence arose. By "Shem" is meant internal worship; by "Japheth," corresponding external worship; by "Ham," faith separated from charity. Noah and his sons indicate the spiritual church which succeeded the celestial church. This second church, called the Noetic, or Ancient Church, was "of a different character from the Most Ancient Church; that is to say, it was spiritual, the characteristic of which is that man is born again by means of doctrinal matters of faith, after the implantation of which a conscience is insinuated into him, lest he should act against the truth and good of faith; and in this way he is endowed with charity, which governs the conscience from which he is thus beginning to act. . . . He could no longer be informed and enlightened in the same way as the most ancient man; for his internals were closed, so that he no longer had communication with heaven, except such as was unconscious. Nor could he be instructed except as before said, by the external way of the senses."²⁴ This second church met the same fate as the first, and was overwhelmed by evil, but because it was an external church, the evils were external, and resulted in the captivity of the children of Israel in Egypt.

Besides the internal sense of Genesis and Exodus the *Arcana* contains a great mass of material which Swedenborg later published in separate volumes. Five treatises, *Heaven and Hell*, *The White Horse mentioned in the Revelation*, *The New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine*, *Earths in the Universe*, and *The Last Judgment* (from the *Memorabilia*) were published in London two years after the last

volume of the *Arcana*. *Heaven and Hell*, or *Heaven and its wonders, and Hell: from things heard and seen*, to use its full title, is, after the *Arcana*, the most unique of Swedenborg's writings, and the most basic to an understanding of his theological system, for it contains a detailed description of that other realm of being which forms the living core of the material universe, and is the world of causes of which material phenomena are merely effects. Upon this basic conception of a dualistic universe of inner and outer rests his entire philosophic structure. The main point to be grasped is that in *Heaven and Hell* Swedenborg is not describing merely the “future life,” or “life after death,” but the spiritual life which every one, “dead or alive,” is living every moment. “As to his spirit every human being is in some society with spirits, even while living in the body, although he is quite unaware of the fact.”²⁵ The book can be studied therefore from two points of view, of eschatology, or of psychology, the former being the more usual interpretation. The second important point is that for a correct understanding of this spiritual world the ordinary concepts of time and space must be eliminated. In place of them there are states, and changes of state only. Swedenborg says: “In this way I have been taken by the Lord into the heavens and also to the earths in the universe; and it was my spirit that so journeyed, while my body remained in the same place.”²⁶

Heaven, therefore, is not a *place*. “The angels taken collectively are called heaven, for they constitute heaven; and yet that which makes heaven in general and in particular is the Divine that goes forth from the Lord and flows into the angels and is received by them. . . . The Divine in heaven which makes heaven is love, because love is spiritual conjunction. It conjoins angels to the Lord and conjoins them to one another, so conjoining them that in the Lord's sight they are all as one.”²⁷ Heaven is divided into two kingdoms, the Celestial and the Spiritual Kingdoms, the Celestial angels being those that receive the Lord more interiorly. They are called higher angels, and the heavens that they constitute are called the interior, or higher, heavens.

"Their love is to the Lord, which is called Celestial love. They far exceed in wisdom and glory the angels of the spiritual kingdom. The spiritual angels have love to the neighbor as their ruling love. They receive the Divine truths first in memory and thought, and not at once into their life, as the Celestial angels do. These two kingdoms have no intercourse with each other, but communicate only through intermediate angelic societies, which are called celestial-spiritual, and through these the celestial influx flows into the spiritual kingdom."²⁸ The relation of the heavens to each other can only be understood by a knowledge of degrees. "Degrees are of two kinds, those that are continuous and those that are not. Continuous degrees are related like the degrees of the waning of a light from its bright blaze to darkness, . . . these degrees are determined by distance. On the other hand, degrees that are not continuous, but discrete, are distinguished like prior and posterior, like cause and effect. . . . Sensual men do not apprehend these differences; for they make increase and decrease even according to these degrees, to be continuous, and are therefore unable to conceive of what is spiritual otherwise than as a purer natural."²⁹

"The angels of each heaven are not together in one place, but are divided into larger and smaller societies in accordance with the differences of good of love and of faith in which they are, those who differ much being far apart, and those who differ but little being but little apart. . . . All the societies of heaven have communication with one another, though not by open intercourse; for few go out of their own society into another, since going out from their own society is like going away from themselves or from their own life. . . . All heaven in the aggregate reflects a single man. It is called the Greatest Man (*Maximus Homo*), and the Divine Man, because it is the Divine of the Lord that makes heaven. . . . In general, the highest or third heaven forms the head down to the neck; the middle or second heaven forms the breast down to the loins and knees; the lowest or first heaven forms the feet down to the soles, and also

the arms down to the fingers."³⁰ . . . Each society is also in the form of a single man, and every angel also is in a complete human form. All this is from the form of the Divine Human. But the Lord does not appear in heaven in His human form, but as a sun from which the Divine truth goes forth as light, and the Divine love as heat, by means of which all spiritual things have their existence, just as on earth all physical life is dependent on the sun.³¹

There are three hells corresponding to the three heavens, and hell, like heaven, is divided into societies, as many as there are in the heavens, "for every society in heaven has a society opposite to it in hell, and this for the sake of equilibrium. . . . In general the hells are ruled by a general outflow from the heavens of Divine good and Divine truth whereby the general endeavor flowing forth from the hells is checked and restrained, . . . they are ruled in particular by angels who restrain insanities and disturbances by their presence." But those in the hells are ruled by their fears, for the more wicked hold the rest in subjection and servitude by means of punishments. This is the only way in which their violence and fury can be restrained. There is no one Devil or Satan who rules over hell,—all the devils [like the angels] were once human beings, and the stronger rule over the weaker as they did on earth. No one is cast into hell by the Lord, for He is good itself and mercy itself, and incapable of doing evil to any one. The wicked cast themselves into hell, because they love evil and are happier in evil society. They choose the society of hell after death, just as they chose evil associations on earth, of their own free will. The ruling loves of the hells are love of self and love of the world, and the infernal fires are the fires of lust and hate in which the evil are always burning, both here and hereafter.³²

Between heaven and hell there is an intermediate space known as the spiritual world, into which place, or rather, state, man comes immediately after death, and where he remains until his true internal nature is revealed. As we have seen, man, even while in the body, is a member of the spir-

itual world where a perfect equilibrium exists between the influx from heaven and the influx from hell by means of which his free-will is preserved so that he can choose conjunction with either at will. Into this state he comes to be explored and prepared for his future state. The period of stay in the world of spirits is not fixed, varying from a few weeks to thirty years, depending upon the degree of correspondence between a man's interior life and his exterior. There he finds the friends and members of his family who have preceded him, and there take place those reunions of which the Scripture speaks. After the permanent abode has been reached such relationships cease, and true spiritual affinities take their place. A man has no further freedom of choice after death, for his internal state has become fixed by his earthly choices and decisions, and now it only remains for it to be freed from its outer covering. There are no restrictions whatever in the spiritual world, and a man's true desires and motives become clearly apparent. When the exteriors of his mind are wholly sloughed off he behaves according to his true interior nature. The evil then depart for hell of their own accord, but the good remain for a further period of instruction before they are ready for heaven.³⁸

Thus we see that man is not changed by death. "It is man's ruling love that awaits him after death, and this is in no way changed to eternity. . . . The delights of every one's life are changed after death into things that correspond. . . . Those that have loved knowledges and have thereby cultivated their rational faculty and acquired intelligence, and at the same time have acknowledged the Divine—these in the other life have their pleasure in knowledges, and their rational delight changed into spiritual delight, which is delight in knowing good and truth. They dwell in gardens where flower beds and grass plots are seen beautifully arranged, with rows of trees round about, and arbors and walks, the trees and flowers changing from day to day. . . . These delights are such because gardens, flower beds, grass plots, and trees correspond to sciences, knowledges, and the

resulting intelligence. . . . In the heavens as on the earth there are many forms of service, for there are ecclesiastical affairs, there are civil affairs, and there are domestic affairs.”³⁴ The various societies all have their own uses, some teach and care for the children who have died at an early age, some teach Christian truths to the simple, or to the heathen, others assist those still in the world of spirits, and still others help keep order in the hells. There is employment for all according to various aptitudes and tastes, but no one works from necessity, for all the necessities of life are supplied gratuitously, but merely for the delight of the work itself and the love of use. “Those that are in heaven are continually advancing towards the spring of life,” and all become more and more beautiful as their charity and faith increase. Angels are of both sexes, and marriages exist in heaven, but they differ from marriages on earth by being a “conjunction of two into one mind, . . . the husband acts the part called the understanding, and the wife acts the part called the will. When this conjunction, which belongs to man’s interiors, descends into the lower parts pertaining to the body, it is perceived and felt as love, and this love is marriage love. . . . This in heaven is called cohabitation; and the two are not called two but one. So in heaven a married pair is spoken of, not as two, but as one angel.”³⁵ This corresponds to the conjunction of good and truth, or of Divine Love and Wisdom which in heaven is called a marriage, and to the relation of the Lord as Bridegroom to His Church as the Bride.

It is this teaching concerning the life of man after death which has made the greatest number of converts to the New Church, and *Heaven and Hell* has always been considered the most successful book for missionary work. This is, of course, perfectly natural, for up to comparatively recent times religious thought has been obsessed with salvation and damnation. But whereas hell has been most adequately depicted and in the greatest detail, heaven has always been a nebulous sort of affair, quite unappealing to the average imagination. Swedenborg, however, presents a picture so

detailed, so rational, and so matter-of-fact,—in other words, so *human*,—that thousands have found in it the deepest consolation and satisfaction. To those who have suffered bereavement the news that their loved ones are not sleeping in the grave until some far-off Day of Judgment, but are merely continuing their lives in happier surroundings, is as the first breath of spring! The remarkable success of spiritualism proves that, even to-day, the conditions of life in the Beyond are of the greatest interest to many. In the last century, too, many who were revolted by the orthodox teaching concerning hell and eternal damnation found in Swedenborg a doctrine far more in accord with a belief in a merciful and loving God, and infinitely more satisfying to man's inherent sense of justice.

Not only did Swedenborg describe the life of the spiritual world, but also the life of other planets. From the *Arcana* he extracted the material for a treatise called *The Earths in our solar system which are called planets, and the earths in the starry heavens; their inhabitants, and also the spirits and angels there; from things heard and seen* in which he describes the strange types of human beings he found on these remote planets. He gives us a picture of a universe literally teeming with life, very different from our own but still essentially human,—a universe created for the one great end of producing a human race, and an angelic heaven from it. Swedenborg was enough of an astronomer to realize the ridicule which such statements were certain to bring upon him, but nevertheless he proceeded calmly to recount his "things heard and seen," quite indifferent to criticism. From his experiences in the spiritual world recorded in the *Memorabilia* comes the treatise on *The Last Judgment and the Destruction of Babylon, showing that what was foretold in the Book of Revelation has been fulfilled in the present day: from things heard and seen*, which contains one of the fundamental doctrines of the New Church. He says: "This last judgment took place in the spiritual world in the year 1757. To all this I can testify, because I saw it with my own eyes in a state of full wakefulness." "Also, "It has been granted

me to see with my own eyes that the Last Judgment is now accomplished; that the evil are now cast into the hells, and the good elevated into heaven, and thus that all things are reduced into order, the spiritual equilibrium between good and evil, or between heaven and hell, being thence restored.

. . . The judgment was accomplished not only upon all the men of the Christian Church, but also upon all the Gentiles in the whole world." The "first heaven" was also destroyed, this being merely a likeness of heaven made by spirits from the Christian, Mohammedan, and Gentile religions who had lived in the world in external and not in internal holiness. These were judged according to their true internal state and sent to their appointed places in the new heaven, or in hell, as the case might be.⁵⁷ The reason for this drastic action was that the middle region, or spiritual world, had become so over-crowded with spirits who had not yet found their permanent place in heaven or hell, that the influx from the heavens was cut off from the earth making it more and more difficult for men to live a spiritual life.

Due to this condition of disorder in the spiritual world, as well as to the natural hereditary drag to which the human race is subject, the condition of the Christian Church had become hopeless. Like the preceding churches it had outlived its usefulness, and was spiritually dead. "There have been several churches on this earth, and in the course of time they have all been consummated, and after their consummation new churches have arisen, and so on to the present time. The Consummation of the church takes place when there is no Divine truth left except what has been falsified or set aside. . . . The chief cause of the consummation of truth and of good along with it, is the two natural loves that are diametrically opposed to the two spiritual loves, and that are called love of self and love of the world. . . . The present is the last time of the Christian Church, which was foretold and described by the Lord in the Gospels and in the Apocalypse,—'the abomination of desolation.' The first, or Most Ancient Church, was consummated or destroyed by the flood; the second, or Ancient Church, which existed in Asia and

Africa, was consummated and destroyed by idolatries; the third, or Israelitish Church, began with the promulgation of the Decalogue, and was consummated by the profanation of the Word, which was complete at the time of the Lord's coming, and resulted in the crucifixion of Him who was the Word; the fourth, or Christian Church, was established by the Lord through the apostles. Of this church there have been two epochs, one extending down to the Council of Nice, and the other to the present day."³⁸ Now therefore it was time for a new church to be founded upon the earth, and for this purpose it was necessary for the Lord Himself to make his Second Coming to the sons of men.

"The night is followed by a morning which is the coming of the Lord. . . . The prevailing opinion in the churches at the present day is, that when the Lord shall come for the last judgment, He will appear in the clouds of heaven with angels and the sound of trumpets, etc.,³⁹ but this opinion is erroneous. The Second Coming of the Lord is not a coming in person, but in spirit and in the Word, which is from Him, and is Himself. . . . Heretofore it has not been known that 'the clouds of heaven' mean the Word in the sense of the letter, and that the 'glory and power' in which He is then to come, mean the spiritual sense of the Word, because no one as yet has had the least conjecture that there is a spiritual sense in the Word, such as this sense is in itself. But as the Lord has now opened to me the spiritual sense of the Word, and has granted me to be associated with angels and spirits in their world as one of them, it is now disclosed. . . . This Second Coming of the Lord is effected by means of a man to whom the Lord has manifested Himself in Person, and whom He has filled with His Spirit, that he may teach the doctrines of the New Church from the Lord by means of the Word. . . . That the Lord manifested Himself before me, His servant, and sent me to this office, . . . I affirm in truth."⁴⁰ But before this New Church could be established on the earth it must first be established in the spiritual world, after its descent from heaven, "made ready as a bride adorned for her husband." This event took place

in the spiritual world on the nineteenth of June, 1770,—the day on which Swedenborg completed his first draft of *The True Christian Religion*. “After this work was finished the Lord called together His twelve disciples who followed Him in the world, and the next day He sent them all forth throughout the whole spiritual world to preach the Gospel that THE LORD JESUS CHRIST reigns, whose kingdom shall be for ages and ages.”⁴¹ Swedenborg relates a vision which he had of this New Church in the spiritual world. “One day there appeared to me a magnificent temple, square in form, the roof of which was crown-shaped, arched above and raised round about; its walls were continuous windows of crystal; its door was of a pearly substance. . . . When I drew nearer, I saw this inscription above the door, *Nunc Licet—It is now permitted*—which signifies that it is now permitted to enter understandingly into the mysteries of faith.”⁴²

Swedenborg knew that the establishment of the New Church on earth would be slow. He says: “It is in accordance with Divine order that a new heaven should be formed before a new church is established on earth, for the church is both internal and external, and the internal church makes one with the church in heaven, thus with heaven itself; and what is internal must be formed before its external, what is external being formed afterwards by means of its internal. . . . Just so far as this new heaven, which constitutes the internal of the church with man, increases, does the New Jerusalem, that is, the New Church, descend from it; consequently this cannot take place in a moment, but it takes place to the extent that the falsities of the former church are set aside. . . . This New Church is the crown of all the churches that have hitherto existed on the earth, because it is to worship one visible God in whom is the invisible like the soul in the body. Thus, and not otherwise, is a conjunction of God with man possible because man is natural, and therefore thinks naturally, and conjunction must exist in his thought, and thus in his love’s affection, and this is the case when he thinks of God as a Man. Conjunction with an invisible God is like a conjunction of the eye’s vision

with the expanse of the universe, the limits of which are invisible; it is also like vision in mid-ocean, which reaches out into the air and upon the sea, and is lost. Conjunction with a visible God, on the other hand, is like beholding a man in the air or on the sea spreading forth his hands and inviting to his arms." "

This "Doctrine of the Lord" is, therefore, the very key-stone of the arch,—without it the whole structure would logically collapse into a sort of mystical pantheism. It preserves the essential dualism which separates the Creator from the Creation. Since the nature of God is essentially human, the purpose of creation is the fulfillment of a human need,—Love. "It is the essence of Love to love others outside of oneself, to desire to be one with them, and to render them blessed from oneself. . . . These essentials of the Divine Love were the cause of the creation of the universe, and are the causes of its preservation. . . . From these things when rightly understood it can be seen that the universe is a coherent work from first things to last, because it is a work that includes ends, causes, and effects in an indissoluble connection. And because in every love there is an end, in all wisdom there is a promotion of an end by means of mediate causes, and through these causes effects, which are uses, are attained, it follows that the universe is a work that includes Divine love, Divine wisdom, and uses, and is thus in every respect a work coherent from things first to last. . . . The object of creation was an angelic heaven from the human race; in other words, mankind, in whom God might be able to dwell as in His residence. For this reason man was created a form of Divine order. God is in him, and so far as he lives according to Divine order, fully so; but if he does not live according to Divine order, still God is in him, but in his highest parts, endowing him with the ability to understand truth and to will what is good. But as far as man lives contrary to order, so far he shuts up the lower parts of his mind or spirit, and prevents God from descending and filling them with His presence." " This defeats the purpose of creation, the conjunction of God with man.

“God is one in essence and in person.” Swedenborg is emphatic in his denial of the orthodox idea of “Three Persons in One God.” He says that a Trinity of Persons was unknown in the Apostolic church, but was “hatched” by the Nicene Council, and perverted the whole of the Christian Church. He says: “From a Trinity of Persons, each of whom singly is God, according to the Athanasian Creed, many discordant and heterogeneous ideas respecting God have arisen, which are phantasies and abortions.” There is, however, a Divine Trinity,—“These three, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are the three essentials of one God, and they make one as soul, body, and operation make one in man. Before the world was created this Trinity was not; but after creation, when God became incarnate, it was provided and brought about; and then in the Lord God the Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ.”⁴⁶ God the Father, or Jehovah, is the Divine Esse, the Invisible God, the Creator. God the Son is the Divine Human, that is, the Divine Truth or Word of God, in whom the Divine Esse exists as the soul in the body. Thus it was Jehovah—God Himself—who became incarnate in human form to save mankind. By the incarnation God became man, and by the glorification of His Human, man became God. “In the Lord, God and Man are not two but one Person, yes, altogether one, as soul and body are.”⁴⁷ The Holy Spirit is the Divine Energy and Operation proceeding from the Lord, by which are meant reformation and regeneration, that is, the new birth from the Spirit.⁴⁷ This beautifully simple explanation of the Trinity has appealed to many who found the tri-personal God of the orthodox creeds too abstruse a metaphysical conception to be religiously helpful, and especially to those who found its corollary, the doctrine of the vicarious atonement, impossible. With the rise of Unitarianism the orthodox view became less and less tenable, and the idea of a Divine Son atoning to an angry Father for the sins of the world more and more repulsive. For many who still clung to the Divinity of Christ, and were unwilling to go to the extreme of Unitarianism, Swedenborg’s solution of the problem was a

happy release from distressing doubts, and there is no doubt that the Doctrine of the Lord has been one of the most powerful and appealing of New Church beliefs.

Swedenborg's doctrine of the Redemption was quite different from the orthodox one, and omitted all idea of a vicarious atonement for human sin. He disapproved entirely of passages in the *Formula Concordia* relating to original sin, and maintained stoutly that man has complete freedom of choice in spiritual matters, and is not damned by hereditary evil. "Without freedom of choice in spiritual things, there would be nothing in man whereby he could in turn conjoin himself with the Lord; consequently there would be no imputation, but mere predestination, which is detestable. . . . What more pernicious thing could have been devised, or could anything more cruel be believed of God, than that some of the human race are damned by predestination?"⁴⁸ God did not create evil, but in giving man complete freedom of choice, he gave him the potentiality of evil, that is, the power to turn good into evil for his own selfish ends. The *proprium*, or self, was created by God, and is not evil, but like all good things, is capable of misuse. Evil therefore was introduced into the world by man himself. God merely permits evil to exist in order that man may have spiritual freedom, and not be a mere automaton. Man is of course subject to the downward drag of hereditary evil, but is damned by it only in so far as he deliberately makes it his own by his own free will. The origin of man's freedom is in the spiritual world, where his mind is kept by the Lord. "Man's mind is his spirit, which lives after death; and his spirit is constantly in company with its like in the spiritual world, and at the same time by means of the material body with which it is enveloped, it is with men in the natural world. . . . Into this interspace [the World of Spirits], evil exhales from hell in all abundance; while from heaven, on the other hand, good flows into it, also in all abundance."⁴⁹ Man is free to draw his spiritual sustenance from either,—that is free-will. Regeneration is effected entirely by the Lord through Divine influx, but is dependent

on man's coöperation. He can be saved only in so far as he chooses the good, and struggles actively, with the Lord's help, against temptations.⁵⁰

Why then was the incarnation of the Lord in human form necessary for the salvation of man? Swedenborg's answer is that it was necessary to preserve the equilibrium between good and evil without which free-will for man was impossible. “For before the Lord's coming hell had reached up so far as even to infest the angels of heaven, and also, by interposing itself between heaven and the world, to intercept the Lord's communication with men and earth, so that no Divine truth and good could pass from the Lord to men. Consequently a total damnation threatened the whole human race, and the angels of heaven could not have long continued to exist in their integrity.”⁵¹ It was therefore necessary for the Lord to submit Himself to all the temptations possible to man, and to subjugate the hells by resisting them. Since God in His infinite essence could not approach the hells without utterly destroying them, He was obliged to assume a Human nature in order merely to subdue and reduce them to order. This He accomplished by His entire lifetime of spiritual combat with temptation. The passion of the cross was the last temptation, “and was the means whereby His Human was glorified and united with the Divine of the Father; but it was not redemption.”⁵² Man's coöperation with the redemptive work of the Lord must begin with repentance. “No man can be regenerated until the most grievous evils, which render him detestable in the sight of God, are put away, and this is done by means of repentance. . . . There are many means by which man, as he progresses in his early years, is prepared for the church and introduced into it; but the means by which the church is established in man are acts of repentance. . . . In the Reformed Christian world a certain kind of anxiety, grief, and terror are spoken of, which they call contrition, which precedes faith in those who are about to be regenerated, and which is followed by the consolation of the Gospel. . . . But respecting this contrition the following questions are to

be considered: 1. Is it repentance? 2. Is it of any consequence? 3. Is there such a thing?" Swedenborg's answer is wholly negative. It is merely a freak of the imagination,—an emotional disturbance based on fear. "Actual repentance is examining oneself, recognizing and acknowledging one's sins, praying to the Lord, and beginning a new life." The two primary roots of all evil in man are "the love of ruling over all, and the love of possessing the goods of all."⁵³ All actions and motives must be examined in the light of knowledge of these basic evils. "*To do repentance* is to desist from sins after one has thus confessed them."⁵⁴

Regeneration, which follows repentance, is not an instantaneous change, but a gradual process, like any other kind of growth. "Regeneration is effected in a manner analogous to that in which man is conceived, carried in the womb, born and educated." For this reason it is called being "born again." "Moreover, there is a correspondence of man's regeneration with all things in the vegetable kingdom; therefore in the Word man is also pictured by a tree, his truth by its seed and his good by its fruit."⁵⁵ The process of regeneration must begin in this life. "The man who while in the world has entered into the first state [repentance] after death can be introduced into the second; but he who has not entered into the first state while in the world, cannot after death be introduced into the second, thus cannot be regenerated." Regeneration is a psychological process. "When this latter state begins and is progressing, a change takes place in the mind; the mind undergoes a reversal, the love of the will then flowing into the understanding, acting upon it and leading it to think in accord and agreement with its love." The man thus becomes spiritual, and is truly "a new creature."⁵⁶ The prime essential of the regenerating life is to shun evils as sins against God, and to do good. It is therefore a life in accordance with the Ten Commandments. "The commandments of the Decalogue were the first-fruits of the church about to be established with the Israelitish nation, and as they were in a brief summary the complex of all things of religion, whereby there

is conjunction of God with man and of man with God, they were so holy that nothing could be holier." ⁵⁷ The Ten Commandments contain all things pertaining to love of God and love of the neighbor, but they are stated in negative terms because man from birth inclines to evil, and it is only by definitely refraining from evil that he can come into good. "Good and evil cannot exist together, and so far as evil is put away good is regarded and felt as good, for the reason that there exhales from every one in the spiritual world a sphere of his loves which spreads itself round about and affects, and causes sympathies and antipathies. By these spheres the good are separated from the evil." ⁵⁸ According to Swedenborg's teaching, evil is not merely "an absence of good," or "missing the mark," but a definite thing, a true opposite, like a disease which must be cured before one can attain to health, or a foul miasma which must be cleared away before the mind can be opened to spiritual influx. For this reason the "Thou shalt not" is of primary importance for the life of religion.

But the positive commands are also contained in the Decalogue, the first table containing in a summary all things pertaining to the love of God, and the second, all things pertaining to love of the neighbor, which two loves are the whole of the Word. Swedenborg is emphatic in his denial of the doctrine of salvation by faith alone. "The Lord, charity, and faith, make one, like life, will, and understanding in man; and if they are divided, each perishes like a pearl reduced to powder." He speaks of the controversies concerning the priority of faith as follows: "Those who so comprehended this subject, supposed that the truth of faith was the firstborn, and that the good of charity was born afterwards; for which reason they gave to faith the eminence and prerogative of primogeniture. But those who so reasoned overwhelmed their own understandings with such a multitude of arguments in favor of faith, as not to see that faith is not faith unless it is conjoined with charity." ⁵⁹ "The only faith that endures with man springs from heavenly love. Those without love have knowledge merely, or per-

suasion. Just to believe in truth and in the Word is not faith. Faith is to love truth, and to will and do it from inward affection for it."⁶⁰

It is the life of charity which is the truly religious, or regenerative life, and this is the life dominated by the two essential loves, love of God, and love of the neighbor. Man was created to be an organ or receptacle of the Divine life, and as the essence of God is love, it follows that "the very life of man is his love, and as his love is, such is his life, such even is the whole man; but it is the dominant or ruling love that makes the man. . . . That which man loves above all things is constantly present in his thought, because it is in his will and constitutes his veriest life."⁶¹ When the love of self and the love of the world, which are universal and essential to man's self-preservation, are rightly subordinated to the two higher loves, love of God and of the neighbor, they are not incompatible with the life of charity, but perfect man, and serve him in the performance of natural uses in the world. Charity, or heavenly love, is the love of uses for the sake of the uses, or goods for the sake of the goods, and a heartfelt delight in promoting them. It is the love of service, instead of the love of dominion. It has its origin in good-will and its seat in the internal man, and its outward expression is well-doing.⁶² "Charity is an inward affection, moving man to do what is good, and this without recompense. So to act is his life's delight. . . . The life of charity is to will well and to do well by the neighbor; in all work, and in every employment, acting out of regard for what is just and equitable, good and true. In a word, the life of charity consists in the performance of uses."⁶³ The term neighbor means something more than the individual man,—it means also the collective man, that is, the community itself. "When the Lord and the angels from Him look down upon the earth, they see an entire community just like a single man, with a form according to the qualities of those in it. It has been granted to me to see a certain community in heaven precisely as a single man, in stature like that of a man in the world. . . . One's country is more a

neighbor than a single community, because it consists of many communities, and consequently love towards the country is a broader and higher love. . . . That one's country should be loved, not as one loves himself, but much more than himself, is a law inscribed on the human heart; from which has come the well-known principle, which every true man endorses, that if the country is threatened with ruin from an enemy, or any other source, it is noble to die for it, and glorious for a soldier to shed his blood for it. . . . The church is the neighbor that is to be loved in a higher degree, thus even above one's country, . . . and the Lord's kingdom is the neighbor that is to be loved in the highest degree, because the Lord's kingdom means the church throughout the world, which is called the communion of saints; also heaven is meant by it.”⁶⁴

Thus we see that in order to “be saved” it is not necessary to “renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil,” but merely to keep them in their proper order. Love of the world is useful in so far as it contributes to a faithful performance of one's duties according to one's position in the world,—one cannot subdue the world by running away from it. Love of the flesh is also legitimate in so far as it contributes to health and efficiency. Swedenborg was emphatic in his condemnation of asceticism,—the body is not to be neglected or abused. Even “the devil,” or evil, is not to be wholly eliminated, for it has its own distinct uses. He tells us that the highest angels still retain their evil propensities (or *proprium*), and are subject to a spiritual relapse if they forget that it is only by the Divine influx that they are restrained, having no good of themselves. Thus evil serves to keep both men and angels in a state of true humility, and a sincere recognition of their absolute dependence upon God. Swedenborg says that it is not so difficult to “get to heaven” as men have imagined, and requires no great renunciations or heroisms. It depends rather upon the somewhat prosaic day-by-day fidelity to duties and responsibilities, along with definite shunning of evils as sins against God.⁶⁵ This common-sense way of salvation has naturally been a great com-

fort to many an average man who has found in his own experience neither opportunity nor inclination for martyrdom. The high path of heroism and the low path of self-abnegation are only for the few. Swedenborg offers a broad highway of simple usefulness,—a middle path for the great majority of "average" human beings. Regeneration as a gradual process of lifelong earnest endeavor is more conceivable, and more in accord with human experience, than some instantaneous magic transformation of character. In his treatment of the sacraments Swedenborg is consistently opposed to the "magical" interpretation. Baptism has in itself no efficacy whatever for salvation,—it is merely a symbol of a regeneration yet to come.⁶⁸ The two sacraments, Baptism and the Holy Supper, are "like two gates to eternal life," for through them man is conjoined to the heavens, and thus with the Lord. In the spiritual sense "flesh" means the good of charity, and "blood" the truth of faith, hence, Divine love and Divine wisdom, or the Lord Himself, who is fully present in the sacrament.⁶⁹ Therefore, though they are instruments and means of salvation (i.e., conjunction with the Lord), the sacraments are not "necessary for salvation," nor are they *necessarily* means of salvation. Sacramentalism, in the orthodox sense, has no place in the theology of Swedenborg, for whom motives, and not acts, the internal and not the external, are the *sine qua non* of salvation.

But though Swedenborg eliminates the magic of sacramental acts from his "True Christian Religion," he more than compensates for its loss by his insistence on the "magic of the word." In fact probably no other religion has ever elevated its Scriptures to a higher pedestal, for according to Swedenborg, the Word of God *is* God,—that is, the Lord in His Second Coming. It is therefore to a Bible-loving people that the New Church has made its great appeal. Many an earnest soul who had never doubted the divine inspiration of the Bible no doubt often wondered, wading through many a dreary stretch, wherein the inspiration lay. And here was a key to the mystery,—a key to unlock the casket and dis-

close the gems,—a never-failing source of interest and joy for many to whom daily Bible reading was a lifelong habit. Swedenborg carried his explanation of the inner sense of the Word through Genesis and Exodus, the Psalms, the Prophets, and the Book of Revelation, as well as many passages from other books, scattered here and there in his writings, but he left a great deal undone,—a vast field for investigation. There is, therefore, practically no end to the possibilities of Biblical interpretation according to the science of correspondences. For the New Church the Bible is an inexhaustible mine of spiritual treasure still unearthed.

One of the most remarkable features of Swedenborg's teaching is his attitude on one of life's most difficult problems, that of sex. He goes counter to Catholic doctrine in making marriage a higher spiritual state than celibacy, and glorifies the normal course of human love in its painful progress from mere physical passion to a truly spiritual love. In Part I of his great work, *The Delights of Wisdom pertaining to Conjugal Love*, he expounds his doctrine of sex as a spiritual, as well as a physical, fact persisting to all eternity. He describes marriage as he was allowed to see it in the life after death. He says that in the world of spirits married partners meet and live together, but if they find, as their interior natures are revealed, that they are not spiritually united, they separate and seek their spiritual mates elsewhere. Conjugal love, (which he differentiates from mere *conjugal* love), is spiritual love, and is so rare as to be practically unknown on earth. It can exist only with those who are in union with the Lord, and are becoming spiritually regenerated,—it is chaste. So closely united are conjugal pairs in the spiritual world that they appear at a distance as one angel. In heaven conjugal love has no natural offspring,—but goods and truths are its offspring.⁶⁸

In Part II he treats of “The Pleasures of Insanity as to Scortatory Love,” which is the exact opposite of conjugal love. Its sphere comes up out of hell, while the sphere of conjugal love comes down from heaven. Scortatory love begins in the flesh, conjugal love in the spirit.⁶⁹ The sec-

tions on "permissions," concerning fornication and concubinage (numbers 444-476), have been a storm center in the New Church for over a century and a half. Swedenborg makes the distinction between fornication and adultery, the latter being a far more serious sin. He says that with some men "the love of sex cannot without harm be totally withheld from going forth into fornication," and that for such men it is possible that "the conjugal (which is the precious treasure of human life, and the repository of the Christian religion) may still be preserved if the wandering love of the sex be confined to one mistress," provided, of course, that the sin of adultery is not involved. "The sphere of the lust of fornicating, as it is in its beginning, is intermediate between the sphere of scortatory love and the sphere of conjugal love and makes the equilibrium, . . . It is light in so far as it looks to conjugal love, and prefers it,—but is grievous in the degree that it looks to adultery." ¹⁰ For a married man who is living with his wife to have a "concubine" is wholly unlawful, for it is adultery, but for a man who is living apart from his wife, even though she be under the same roof, to have a concubine is not unlawful, provided the separation is "for legitimate, just and truly weighty causes," and provided that he is the kind of man mentioned above with whom "the love of the sex cannot without harm be totally withheld from going forth into fornication." In such a case a man and his concubine "may at the same time be in conjugal love." In other words, "Not from the appearances of marriages, nor from the appearances of scortations, is it to be determined respecting any one, whether he is in conjugal love or not. Wherefore, 'Judge not, that ye may not be condemned.'"¹¹

It is clear that in this work Swedenborg is writing for the society of his own day in which marriage was largely a matter of convenience, and divorce almost unknown, but nevertheless it contains much of value for any age, even the present one. It is characteristic of Swedenborg that, even in sex morality, he dares to make inner *motive* and not outer *act* the criterion of judgment. Quite naturally the book has

brought calumny upon Swedenborg and his followers, whose enemies have been quick to seize upon various passages, separate them from their context, and distort their meaning. Also the New Church itself is divided in its feelings regarding it. Some have thought of it as a "skeleton in the closet" which might better have never been written, while others have staunchly defended it as divine revelation. Unfortunately it presents a morality too advanced for the mid-Victorian mind which still controls much of our sex thinking, and a spirituality in sex relations too high for the so-called "advanced thinkers" of the present day.

These teachings, which Swedenborg gave to the world in some forty odd volumes of theological writings, were, according to his statement, derived from the letter of the Word in the light of its inner meaning, and corroborated by his experiences in the spiritual world. In his own words the statement is: "I testify in truth, likewise, that from the first day of that call I have not received anything that pertains to the Doctrines of the New Church from any angel, but from the Lord alone, while I read the Word."⁷²

CHAPTER III

RECEPTION OF THE DOCTRINES

After the death of Swedenborg his followers among the Swedish clergy continued to be persecuted by the Consistory. The first real martyr of the new religion was the Rev. Sven Schmidt of Skara, who was tried for heresy in 1771, refused to recant and was suspended. He was later imprisoned for two years, after which he was removed to an insane asylum where he died twenty years afterwards.¹ Though the persecution soon abated, the ban against the publication of the writings remained until liberty of the press was restored to Sweden on 1809, but the law still forbade the establishment of a new sect, and in 1827 the state of the New Church was described as "a mournful calm."² But among the nobility there was a great deal of interest, especially among those who had known Swedenborg personally. In 1784 Augustus Nordenskjöld, an eminent chemist and mining engineer, and J. G. Halldin, the court poet, began the publication of a weekly paper, called *Aftonbladet*, in which they openly avowed the new doctrines, but which had only a brief career of eight months before it was killed by clerical opposition. Two years later Charles Frederick Nordenskjöld and Charles B. Wadström organized the Exegetic-Philanthropic Society for the purpose of publishing the writings of Swedenborg in Swedish, Latin, French, and other languages. Among its members were many of the nobility, Count Höpken, Baron Liliencrantz, Count Ekebald, and Baron Leonard Gyllenhall, and even the Crown Prince, later King Gustavus III, attended one of its meetings.³ Under his rule a certain type of mysticism was in vogue in the court which was a combination of Swedenborgianism and spiritualism, the first instance of an alliance destined to cause much trouble in the history of the New Church. In 1787 the Society then at

the height of its power, with a hundred and fifty distinguished members, began the publication of the first distinctively New Church journal in the world, the *Sämlingar för Philantropen*.⁴

The next venture of the Exegetic-Philanthropic Society was an investigation of the phenomena of animal magnetism, which at the time was creating a perfect furor all over Europe. At the time of Swedenborg's death Friedrich Mesmer was working on his researches, and shortly afterwards Paris was thrown into a state of great excitement by his demonstrations and cures. In a short time interest had spread to scientific circles and groups were being organized to study the strange new phenomena.⁵ In 1788 the Exegetic-Philanthropic Society began a correspondence with the Société des Amis Reunis of Strassburg, offering a spiritualistic interpretation of the phenomena on Swedenborgian lines. In a "Lettre sur la seule explication satisfaisante des phénomènes du Magnetisme Animal et du sonnambulisme déduite des vrais principes fondés dans les connaissances du Créatur de l'homme et de la nature, et confirmée par l'expérience" there occurs one of the earliest detailed accounts on record of trance experiments.⁶ The Strassburg Society, which had been founded by the Marquis de Puysegur, the most distinguished of Mesmer's disciples, insisted on a naturalistic interpretation of the phenomena, and ridiculed the Stockholm Society's spiritualistic theories.⁷ So also did the learned journals of the German universities heap ridicule upon them, until a combination of outside attacks and internal dissensions resulted in the complete collapse of the Society in 1791. A complaint to the King from the Consistory had already put a stop to their publications. Five years later some of its former members organized a secret society called "Pro Fide et Charitate" for the purpose of continuing the publication of Swedenborg's works in Swedish. Communication was kept up between its members for nearly twenty years by means of a manuscript journal. Politics and animal magnetism were strictly *tabu* in the new society.⁸

But by far the most interesting development among the followers of Swedenborg in his own country was the anti-slave-trade movement. In 1779 Charles B. Wadström had organized a society of readers of Swedenborg for the purpose of agitating against the African slave trade. This preceded all other efforts in this direction and gives to the New Church the credit for originating this mighty crusade. Wadström's account of the venture reads as follows: "In the year 1779 a society of affectionate admirers of the writings of that extraordinary man, Emanuel Swedenborg, assembled at Norkjöping in Sweden, in consequence of reflecting on the favorable account this eminent author gives, both in his printed works and manuscripts, of the African nations.⁹ The principal business of this Conference was to consult and devise the most practical means of forming an unanimous association, whose wishes and endeavours might center on one subject,—that of forming a settlement among those nations, where a certain prospect seemed to open of establishing peaceably, and without opposition their new system, which might serve as a basis for a new and complete community. The more this subject came to be considered, the more these gentlemen were persuaded that the coast of Africa would scarcely admit of being peopled by a body of true and sincere Christians, unless the home trade, so firmly rooted, and the only object of commerce in those fruitful regions, could be abolished."¹⁰ For eight years Wadström and his followers agitated their project until at length, in 1787, he was actually sent by the King at the head of a scientific expedition to explore the west coast of Africa for a suitable location for a Swedish colony to operate against the slave trade. He returned the following year, and was sent to England to interest the British government and capitalists in the plan. In 1789 he and Augustus Nordenskjöld, who was associated with him, published in London a *Plan for a Free Community upon the Western Coast of Africa*, followed five years later by *An Essay on Colonization in Sierra Leone and Boulama*, both published by Robert Hindmarsh, the leading disciple of Swedenborg in England.¹¹

This little colony, composed of Swedish and English settlers, was destroyed in 1795 by French privateers, most of the colonists being killed. Wadström went to Paris to demand reparation from the French government, which was refused. He however was offered the position of chief director of the Agricultural Bank of Paris, and lived in Paris until his death in 1799 in high favor with the Directory and Napoleon. But though the colony in Sierra Leone met with a tragic fate, Wadström's efforts for the abolition of the slave trade were by no means a failure. During the years he spent in England he wrote voluminously on the subject, and worked with Henry Gandy of Bristol, Thomas Clarkson, and Granville Sharp to arouse public opinion against the evil. Sharp had begun his agitation against slavery in 1765, and in 1777 had secured a court decree making it unlawful to own a slave in England, but no organized attack was made against the slave trade itself until 1787, eight years after the formation of Wadström's Swedish organization. In 1788 a private committee was formed, of which Clarkson and Wilberforce were members, and in 1791 Wilberforce made his move in Parliament for leave to bring in the bill.¹² There is no doubt that Wadström's efforts, backed as they were by the Swedish government itself, were an important factor in this great achievement. It is an interesting fact, that though Swedenborg said nothing against the institution of slavery in his writings, his early followers found in them the inspiration for their attack upon it. This was due to two factors: first, his statements with regard to the high spiritual status of the African race in the other world, and second, his great emphasis on freedom in general as necessary to the regeneration of man.

Because of the power of the firmly entrenched state Lutheranism of Sweden there was little chance for the New Church as an organization, and even to this day there are but few in its membership in the land of its founder's birth. But his doctrines permeated the established church to a certain degree, many of its ministers being converted in secret, though unable to preach them openly, and found a fertile

soil in the hearts and minds of many of the cultured aristocracy, some of whose descendants in America are loyal members of the New Church.

In Germany the situation was similar to that of Sweden, with Lutheranism firmly established as the state religion. After the persecution of Prelate Oetinger few of the clergy dared evince any interest in Swedenborg, though there was considerable interest in the universities. Immanuel Kant heard of Swedenborg's remarkable faculty of clairvoyance, and went to a good deal of trouble to verify the truth of some of the stories. He was thoroughly disgusted by the *Arcana Coelestia*, and wrote an attack on Swedenborg called *Träume eines Geistersehers, erläutert durch Träume der Metaphysic.*¹⁸ In 1782 Abbé Pernety, Court Librarian to Frederick III of Prussia, became a convert, and began to publish French translations of some of the writings. The university journals of Weimar and Jena attacked the publications of the Exegetic-Philanthropic Society over the question of animal magnetism. Altogether the prospects for the New Church in Germany were hardly bright at the end of the eighteenth century. But in 1813 a convert was made in the person of Immanuel Tafel, a student at the University at Tübingen, who became a whole host in himself. He made the decision to translate some of the theological works into German, a project in which he received financial aid from a wealthy English disciple, John Augustus Tulk. Tafel incurred opposition from the university authorities, but persisted in his work until in 1825 he was offered a professorship in theology on condition of giving up his translation. This condition he reluctantly accepted, but after four years petitioned the King of Württemberg to either rescind the condition or accept his resignation. The King decided on the latter course, but appointed him Librarian to the University as compensation, with permission to publish his translations. In a letter written in 1831 Tafel describes the formation of several societies for the study of the doctrines, and a visit from the great theologian, Schleiermacher, who ex-

pressed "in mild and condescending terms" his regret that Tafel should continue in his misguided activities.¹⁴

Not only did he continue his publications, but also, in 1833, began to preach the doctrines openly, making many converts. A letter from Germany in 1835 reports: "New Church doctrines are spreading extremely fast in Swabia and the Southern parts of Germany, chiefly among the poorer classes of the population, who find among the external pressures of the times and the government their peace and happiness in them."¹⁵ This is the first record of any interest among the lowly in the teachings of Swedenborg. But now trouble arose between Tafel and his publisher, Ludwig Hofaker, who in 1837 published a translation of a French work, G. Oegger's *Rapports inattendues entre le monde matériel et le monde spirituel*, a series of revelations secured through mediums, and began the publication of a monthly periodical devoted to spiritualistic propaganda. He gathered around him a group of female seers who prophesied in the streets and brought great scandal on the new religion. Hofaker died insane in 1846, having done a great deal of injury to the New Church in Germany.¹⁶ This connection between Swedenborgianism and spiritualism, which appeared so early in its history, was inevitable. Though Swedenborg warned his followers against the dangers of intercourse with spirits, there were many too bold to be deterred by admonitions, and naturally enough felt impelled to experiment for themselves. Spiritualism claims Swedenborg as its first great exponent. Podmore calls him "the *first* Spiritualist,—the first to have communications with departed souls,—all previous communications were with demons, sylphs, etc.—non-human spirits. His philosophy is part of the great mystical tradition which forms the basis of the spiritualistic creed." And Conan Doyle begins his *History of Spiritualism* with a chapter on Swedenborg. "When the first rays of the rising sun of spiritual knowledge fell upon the earth they illuminated the greatest and highest human mind before they shed their light on lesser men. That mountain peak of mentality was this greatest religious reformer and clairvoyant medium,

as little understood by his own followers as ever the Christ has been."¹⁷ However that may be, this connection with Spiritualism has been from the beginning a thorn in the flesh for the New Church.

At last in 1848 religious liberty was granted by the National Congress at Frankfort, and the same year the First General Conference of the New Church in Germany was held at Canstadt, about a hundred receivers of the doctrines being present. The proceedings were reported to have been mostly of an intellectual character. Immanuel Tafel was elected president of the Conference, an honor well deserved, for not only was he practically the founder of the New Church in Germany, but her outstanding scholar. Besides his translations of the works of Swedenborg, another great contribution was his collection of documents relating to his life and work, published in 1839,—a rich mine of material which forms the basis for all future biographies. After the Revolution of 1848 religious liberty was again lost, and another era of persecution set in from which the German New Church never fully recovered.¹⁸

In France it was Catholicism with which the new religion had to contend, and the results were somewhat different. The early converts here too, however, were from the intellectual aristocracy, among whom was Baron Breteuil, minister to Louis XV, who had been a personal friend of Swedenborg when living in Stockholm as ambassador to Sweden. There were also the Marquis de Thomé, M. Moët, Royal Librarian at Versailles who translated some of the writings into French, and Frederic Oberlin, the famous philanthropist.¹⁹ The most interesting development was in connection with a Masonic Lodge at Avignon, which had been established in 1760 by Abbé Pernety and Count Grabianka, a Polish nobleman. In 1768 one of its members, Benedict Chastanier, a physician, discovered the writings of Swedenborg, and in 1783 the Marquis de Thomé, introduced a reformed system called "the Rite of Swedenborg." Another Masonic Lodge, in Paris, called Les Amis Réunis, also adopted Swedenborgianism about this time. The Avignon

Lodge was reorganized in 1786 by Abbé Pernety as the Académie des Illuminés Philosophes, and the same year they published their *Observations sur les Franc-maçonneries, le Visions de Swedenborg*, etc.,—the earliest documentary evidence of this connection between Swedenborgianism and French Free Masonry. The tenets of the Avignon Society were a strange mixture of Masonry, Spiritualism, Jesuitism Swedenborgianism and the teachings of Saint-Martin, and their practices were described as “mystico-cabalistic Magnetical.” They were active propagandists, sending out emissaries to various countries to try to link up the followers of Swedenborg with Free Masonry. Benedict Chastanier introduced their teachings in England, and joined the London New Church Society. Count Grabianka followed in 1785, and introduced animal magnetism and spiritualism among the members of the New Church, causing much excitement and dissension. But in 1791 the Avignon Society fell out with the teachings of Swedenborg over *Conjugial Love*, which they condemned as a “damnable book.” Their London member, Chastanier, who by this time had become one of the leaders in the New Church, repudiated his connection with them in a book called: *A Word of Advice to a Benighted World; or some of Benedict Chastanier's Spiritual Experiences, relative to the Lord's Second Advent, His New Church and its Antitype, the Avignon Society.*²⁰

The first true apostle of the New Church in France, however, was Captain Jean-Jacques Bernard, a member of the Legion of Honor. He spread the doctrines among his fellow officers wherever he went, and also introduced them to the mystic-philosopher, Saint-Martin. His first convert was M. Oegger, First Vicar of the Cathedral of Paris, and confessor to the Queen, who resigned his post and gave up all connection with the Catholic Church. He was strongly inclined to spiritualistic practices, and in 1832 published the book called *Rapports inattendus entre le monde matériel et le monde spirituel; ou ma Transition à la Nouvelle Eglise, et les Circonstances surnaturelles qui ont accompagné cette démarche,*²¹ which, as we have seen, caused so much excite-

ment in Germany. Another cleric, Abbé François Ledru, a parish priest near Chartres, was converted in 1830, and promptly dismissed by his bishop. His parishioners pleaded in vain for his reinstatement, and the Abbé opened a new place of worship which he called the French Catholic Church. When the incensed bishop sent troops to arrest him, the villagers rose to arms in his defense, and the soldiers refused to fire on them. At last he was brought to trial by an ecclesiastical tribunal, and strangely enough, completely exonerated; but after his death in 1837 the movement went to pieces.²²

The growth of the New Church was exceedingly slow in France. In 1826 fourteen members were reported in Paris, and only sixty-six in all of France. A new center of activity sprung up in 1837 in Sainte-Amand, under the leadership of an indefatigable evangelist, M. Le Boys des Guays, with a membership of a hundred and twenty. He began the publication of a monthly magazine, *La Nouvelle Jérusalem*, which carried on a heated controversy with the Papal organ, *L'Echo du Vatican*. He also organized a Tract Society, and published a French translation of the *Arcana*. But the movement which had begun so well, in time dwindled, and in 1848, the Rev. T. O. Prescott of America found only about fifty members in Paris meeting in a private house, a small circle at Versailles under M. Oegger, and about twenty-five of the original hundred and twenty at Sainte-Amand.²³ The New Church had met with two formidable foes in France,—Catholicism among the people, and Positivism among the intellectuals.

In Russia there was some interest among the nobility in the writings of Swedenborg, though as an organization the New Church has never had any foothold there. One of the most important of these members of the nobility was General Alexander Mouravieff, one of the pioneers in the movement for the abolition of serfdom. He spread the works of Swedenborg far and wide among his friends, and made some converts. It is interesting to find here again a disciple

of Swedenborg among the outstanding pioneers in the cause of human freedom.²⁴

It was in England, the home of religious toleration, that the New Church was born, and it was this English New Church which became the mother of practically all the branches of the New Church now existing in the world. Swedenborg himself, as we have seen, made no effort whatever toward the founding of a church. He expected his doctrines to permeate gradually the old churches until a state of spiritual regeneration should be reached, which would be the New Jerusalem. Toward this end he presented his theological works to all the bishops of the Church of England, and to all the Protestant members of the House of Lords. But the growth of the New Church came through other channels, and led to an entirely unforeseen development,—a new ecclesiastical body. The attention of the reading public was first called to the new teachings by John Lewis, Swedenborg's publisher, who in 1794 advertised the first volume of the *Arcana Coelestia* in several London papers. The first response was from Stephen Penny, a prominent citizen of Dartmouth, who, after reading the book, wrote an appreciative letter to Lewis, which was published in the *London Daily Advertiser* on Christmas Day. In 1750 Lewis published an English translation of this volume, made by John Marchant at Swedenborg's expense, an indication that he considered England good soil for his message. Ten years later, Penny succeeded in converting his friend Thomas Cookworthy, a well-to-do Quaker chemist of Plymouth, who in turn converted the Rev. Thomas Hartley of the Established Church. In 1769 Cookworthy and Hartley paid a visit to Swedenborg, who was now known in London as "the New Jerusalem gentleman," and offered him their services in the cause of the new truth. After his return to Sweden a correspondence on theological matters was kept up with Hartley, and in 1770 Cookworthy and Hartley began their joint work of translating the *Treatise on Influx*, and the *Doctrine of Life for the New Jerusalem*, two of the smaller theological works. These were published

at Cookworthy's expense. The first collateral work in English was written by Stephen Penny, called *Letters on the Fall and Restoration of Mankind addressed to all the serious part of every denomination.*²⁵

The year 1773 marks the conversion of a very influential person, the Rev. John Clowes, M.A., of Manchester, who in 1778 established the first New Church Society among his parishioners in Whitefield, near Manchester. Clowes and his followers, however, remained members of the Established Church.²⁶ The first connecting link with America was the conversion at this time of the Rev. Jacob Duché, an Episcopal clergyman of Philadelphia, a political exile. Duché had been chaplain to the First Continental Congress, but when the break with England came, he remained a Loyalist, and had been obliged to flee for his life. He was now engaged as chaplain to an orphan asylum in St. George's Field.²⁷

By far the most important conversion, however, was that of Robert Hindmarsh, a young man, only nineteen, a printer by trade, and the son of a Methodist minister. In 1782 a Quaker friend had lent him a copy of *Heaven and Hell*, and that had been sufficient. He set about to form a reading circle,—a little group of four serious thinkers, including besides himself, Peter Provo, a surgeon and apothecary, William Bonington, a clockcase maker, and the Hon. John Augustus Tulk, a gentleman of leisure. They decided to advertise a public meeting of all the readers of Swedenborg in London to be held at a coffee house on Ludgate Hill. This historic gathering, the first public meeting of receivers of the doctrines in the world, occurred at the Queen's Arms on December 5th, 1783, and consisted of the original four and *one* other, William Spence, a surgeon. Nothing daunted by this somewhat slim response, they hired a room in the Inner Temple and called a second meeting for December 12th. At this meeting there appeared an important new acquisition, James Glen, a prosperous plantation owner from Demerara (now British Guiana), in South America. He had been converted on shipboard in 1781 by the captain's

Latin copy of *Heaven and Hell*, and had chanced to see the notice of the meeting.²⁸ Since he is destined to play so important a rôle in the evangelization of America, it may be well to see what manner of man was James Glen. He was a native of Glasgow, and had received an excellent education at the University, specializing in Greek, Latin and Hebrew. Later in life he added Arabic, French, Dutch, and German to his linguistic attainments. When about twenty he had made a trip to South America as mate on a merchant ship, and had fallen in love with the beauty of the country. Some years later he returned, secured a large grant of land from the governor, and was soon the owner of many slaves and a prosperous plantation.²⁹

At the second meeting it was decided to engage permanent quarters at the New Court, Middle Temple, and an organization was formed called "The Theosophical Society, instituted for the purpose of promoting the Heavenly Doctrines of the New Jerusalem, by translating and publishing the Theological Writings of the Hon. Emanuel Swedenborg." (This was not the first venture of this sort, however, for the year before some of the members of the Manchester group had founded the Manchester Printing Society for the same purpose.) The new Society at once launched its program of propaganda by regular weekly meetings, and by issuing an *Address to the Christian World at Large, but especially to the Clergy*, calling attention to the doctrines. Its members attended church on Sundays at Mr. Duché's orphan asylum, where he was preaching the "Heavenly Doctrines," and on Sunday evening met informally at his house for discussion and social amenities. The name chosen, "Theosophical" Society, was doubtless derived from Swedenborg's use of the word, as in *A Theosophical Lucubration on the Nature of Influx*, but was changed in 1785 to The British Society for the Propagation of the Doctrines of the New Church, with an annual fee of six pounds, a fairly large sum for those days. Another method of spreading the doctrines, open-air preaching, was undertaken by Joseph Salmon and Ralph Mather, near London, Salisbury, and Bristol, and re-

sulted in the formation of small societies of readers. Many of the new converts were Methodists and Baptists who brought with them their evangelical viewpoint and methods, and materially affected the form the new religion was destined to take.⁵⁰

The first systematic attack on the doctrines of the New Church in England was made by the Rev. Cornelius Bayley, of St. James, Manchester, being provoked no doubt by the Rev. John Clowes' recently published *Affectionate Address to the clergy of the United Kingdom on the Theological Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg*. But the most serious trouble came from the Methodists. Wesley had apparently, from statements in his journal, been favorably impressed with Swedenborg's writings at first, but had later come to believe the story circulated by the Rev. Aaron Mathesius to the effect that Swedenborg was insane. Also he had become distinctly annoyed by the conversion of six of his own ministers to the new doctrines, one of these being the Rev. James Hindmarsh (father of the zealous young Robert), who introduced them to his colleague, the Rev. Isaac Hawkins. When the latter began to hold meetings in his house for the study of Swedenborg he was promptly expelled by Wesley. Shortly thereafter there appeared in the *Arminian Magazine* in 1781, a series of stories purporting to be anecdotes of Swedenborg's life which proved him to have been insane. The chief source of information was Mathesius, who stated on the evidence of Swedenborg's former landlord, Brockmer, that in 1744 he had had a violent attack of insanity during which he had removed his clothing and rolled in the mud of the street. This absurd story was thoroughly investigated in 1791 by Robert Beatson, and the evidence of its complete falsity published, but for ten years it had enjoyed a wide circulation, especially among the Methodists,—and indeed, its ghost has never been entirely laid.⁵¹

In 1787 there arose the first serious issue among the disciples of Swedenborg,—that of separation from the "old churches." Some of the members of the London Society began to discuss plans for securing a place of worship, and

the Rev. John Clowes came down from Manchester to dissuade them from this rash act. From that time on the controversy between the Separatists and the Non-Separatists raged for many years. Clowes maintained that the New Church was to come as a rebirth of spirituality in the old churches as a result of the new doctrines. For sixty-two years this remarkable man, whom DeQuincey called "the holiest of men whom it has been my lot to meet," preached the doctrines of Swedenborg from the pulpit of St. John's, Manchester. When accused of heresy he was defended by his bishop, Dr. Beilby Porteus, a man of unusually liberal views. Not only did he preach New Church doctrines, but also was active in organizing societies for their study all over his large parish. The Whitefield Society established in 1784 the first Sunday School teaching the new doctrines. His most important work was the translation of the greater part of the theological writings, eighteen years being spent on the *Arcana* alone, and the writing of a large number of collateral works which have been of great influence in molding the theological thought of the New Church. He refused a bishopric offered him by William Pitt in order to devote all his time to his work for the New Church.⁵²

The leader of the Separatists was young Robert Hindmarsh, who was already showing his ability as a leader. Though only twenty-five he was the owner of a successful printing business, and had been honored by an appointment as Printer Extraordinary to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. He took a distinctly separatist view of the nature and function of the New Church, and in 1787 his Society declared in its constitution that "introduction into the New Church is solely through the spiritual correspondent, Baptism, performed in that church," and that "conjunction with the Lord, and consociation with the angels of the New Heavens, are effected by the Holy Supper, taken in the New Church, according to its heavenly and Divine correspondent." The first meeting held for worship was at the house of Thomas Wright, 6 Poultry Road, on July 31st. James Hindmarsh was chosen by lot to officiate, and administered the sacrament

to seven, and baptized five into the New Church, his son being the first. (The communion cup used on this historic occasion is still in use by the Argyle Square Society.) On the same day a Dissenter's License was procured,—the die was now cast, and the New Jerusalem, whether for better or for worse, appeared upon the earth in the form of a dissenting sect.³³

In November the new church body took possession of a rented chapel in Great East Cheap, a small building at the end of a narrow court which bore on its front the motto: "Now it is allowable" (the rest of the quotation being, "to enter by reason into the mysteries of faith"). A liturgy was devised and printed by Hindmarsh, called, *The Order of Worship for the New Church, signified by the New Jerusalem in the Revelation*, being a simplified and suitably adapted form based on that of the Established Church. The opening service took place on January 17th of the following year, the sermon being preached by James Hindmarsh. The need for an ordained ministry was now obvious, and in June the first ordination service was held. Twelve members were chosen by lot to lay their hands upon the candidates, James Hindmarsh and Samuel Smith, both former Methodist ministers. (All subsequent ordinations in the English New Church have been derived through James Hindmarsh.)³⁴

Naturally these proceedings aroused a strong protest from the non-separatists. A formal letter of remonstrance from Clowes and his associates was answered by Hindmarsh in a letter signed by seventy-four members of the Society and later published as *Reasons for Separating from the Old Church*. (Among the signatures appear the names of Charles B. Wadström and Benedict Chastanier.) The two controversial issues, Separatism, and its corollary, Re-Baptism, were now discussed continuously in the *Magazine of Knowledge*, and the *New Jerusalem Journal*, the first two English New Church periodicals.³⁵ It is clear that though the non-separatists had the logic of the Doctrines on their side, the separatists had a more potent ally in the logic of events. For not only were the majority of the new con-

verts "come-outers" by temperament, being members of the dissenting sects, but also by necessity. The Methodists and Baptists were not strong enough to risk the attitude of indifferent toleration which the Established Church could well afford to indulge in, and *their* heretical members met with short shrift. The ministers of these denominations who professed a belief in the teachings of Swedenborg were not so fortunate as the Rev. John Clowes, but faced the inevitable loss of their means of livelihood. It is no wonder that having sacrificed so much for the new faith, their fervor should have taken the form of a narrow and intense sectarianism. If the majority of the first converts had been members of the Church of England, there is no doubt that the history of the New Church would have assumed a very different aspect.

By 1789 the New Church had grown sufficiently to hold a General Conference with about eighty members present from various places in England and Sweden, and even from as far as Jamaica. This Conference was held in the Great East Cheap Chapel from April 13th to 17th. Thirty resolutions setting forth the beliefs of the New Church were drawn up and signed by all present, and a committee was appointed to prepare a catechism for the instruction of children. At the Second General Conference, the following year, this catechism, prepared by Hindmarsh, and a book of *Hymns and Spiritual Songs for the use of the Lord's New Church*, by the Rev. Joseph Proud, a newly converted Baptist minister, were accepted. An affirmative vote was given on the desirability of a fixed form of prayer, there being still a strong Anglican sentiment in the group, and the Order of Worship was revised. Two new ministers were ordained, the Rev. Francis Leicester, a convert from the Established Church, and Mr. Robert Jackson of Jamaica. The Third General Conference voted favorably on the question of the use of ecclesiastical vestments, and adopted a form of consecration for temples. An extremely important decision was made that the clergy and the laity should have equal voting power in the Conference.²⁶

In the meantime an unfortunate disturbance had arisen in the Great East Cheap Society, the records of which were torn bodily out of the minute book, but fortunately an account of the matter has been preserved elsewhere. The Rev. Manoah Sibley said in an address in 1839: "I am here under the necessity of stating, however reluctantly, that in the year 1789 a very sorrowful occurrence befell the infant New Church, whereby the floodgates of immorality were in danger of being thrown open, to her inevitable destruction. The Church held many solemn meetings on the occasion, which ended in her withdrawing herself from six of her members." (Among whom were Henry Servanté, founder of the first *New Jerusalem Magazine*, Charles B. Wadström, Augustus Nordenskjöld, and Robert Hindmarsh, the founder of the Society himself! Their suspension was only temporary however.) The mystery is elucidated by another member of the Society, who wrote many years afterwards: "It was a perverted view of Swedenborg's doctrine of concubinage in his work on *Conjugial Love*, then just published; whereby some held that if a husband and wife did not agree, they might separate, and the man take a concubine; I forget whether or not the wife was to have the same privilege. . . . I do not recollect any case where the notion was acted on. *Mr. Hindmarsh certainly did not*; nor do I believe that either of the other five persons you name did." A further elucidation of this strange affair appeared in a book called *The Form of Organization in the New Jerusalem*, by Augustus Nordenskjöld, a little work written in Swedish and published in Copenhagen. It contains the provision that the members of the New Church are to be permitted to have mistresses and concubines in accordance with the conditions mentioned in the second part of *Conjugial Love*, but strictly according to order: "No one is permitted to live thus in our Church who does not report it to the Bishop or the Marriage Priest. These are to examine according to Swedenborg's rules, *De Fornicatione et Concubinatu*,—if his case is truly such as he presents it. After this he is to receive their written permission, in which the conditions are to be carefully stated, and

he may then live with his mistress or concubine.”⁸⁷ This was a bit too advanced for British “middle class morality,” as it has proved to be many times since.

A serious difficulty had also arisen in the Manchester Society, which resulted in schism. In 1791 some of the members of Clowes’ congregation, in spite of his earnest pleadings, decided to separate from the Established Church and build their own house of worship. The prime mover in this enterprise was the Rev. William Cowherd, Clowes’ own curate, who developed a peculiar type of Swedenborgianism of his own, including vegetarianism and total abstinence. These he enforced with great strictness, to the injury of the health of his flock (according to Robert Hindmarsh). This heretical sect called themselves Bible Christians, and ultimately severed all connection with the New Church. Cowherd “suffered the full penalty of his delusion in the fifty-fourth year of his age,” and his tomb bears the following pathetic inscription, written by himself: “All feared, none loved, and few understood.” His followers, however, carried on enthusiastically. They published a defense of their teachings in which they quoted Shearsmith, Swedenborg’s last landlord, as saying that the Seer was a total abstainer from animal food and alcoholic beverages. Hindmarsh investigated this statement and found that what Shearsmith had really said was that Swedenborg suffered from a weak stomach in his last years, ate meat seldom, and never drank more than two glasses of wine.⁸⁸

At the Fourth General Conference, in 1792, there was a sharp reaction against the democratic spirit of the year before which had given the laity equal power with the clergy, and a minority group, led by Hindmarsh, brought in a proposal for an episcopal form of government. This was forcibly voted down, and the minority withdrew from the Conference. Soon afterwards the Great East Cheap Society split on the same issue,—the majority seceded and formed a new society under the Rev. Manoah Sibley, leaving Hindmarsh with six faithful friends to carry on alone. By the following year the schism was complete, and two Fifth General Con-

ferences were held, one in Birmingham, composed by the majority, or democratic group, and the other in Great East Cheap. The Birmingham Conference reaffirmed their belief in the principle of democracy, and declared re-baptism to be unnecessary, while the other group stood just as firmly on their belief in an episcopal form. This was the end of peace and unity in the English New Church for many years, and no more Conferences were held until 1807. The Rev. John Clowes described its desolate state thus: "For a time at least, the dissemination of the Doctrines is suspended." Even the chapel in Great East Cheap, which has been justly called "the mother of churches in the New Jerusalem," had to be given up, the slim remains of the brave little Society continuing to meet at each other's homes until 1796, when the group dissolved altogether.⁸⁹

Other causes of dissension had also arisen,—animal magnetism and spiritualism. As early as 1784 John Augustus Tulk, in a letter to James Glen, mentions the fact that "several persons in Manchester are having open communication with the spiritual world and receive ocular and auricular proofs of the statements of Swedenborg." Count Grabianka had evidently succeeded in arousing a good deal of interest in magnetism in the London group, for the periodicals of this time contain numerous articles on the subject. A *Handbook of Mesmerism, for the Guidance and Instruction of all persons who desire to produce Mesmerism for the Cure of Disease*, was published by a member of the Argyle Square Society. But Manchester seems to have been the center of the interest in spiritualism. The Rev. John Clowes himself, in spite of Swedenborg's warnings, cultivated the society of angels, by whom he said some of his works were dictated. He had been led to the writings of Swedenborg in the beginning by a vision in which the words "Divinum Humanum" had appeared to him in letters of light. In 1817 James Johnston, an ignorant workingman, member of the Salford Society, near Manchester, began to have remarkable visions, and received a divine commission to establish some sort of new order in the Church. He even succeeded in winning a

few disciples. His *Diary Spiritual and Earthly*, reveals the amazing workings of a diseased imagination. An anonymous publication, *Letters to a Friend in reply to observations respecting the possibility of man having intercourse or communication with angels and spirits*, by a Layman, appeared in Manchester in 1829, a further testimony to this interest among New Churchmen at this early date.⁴⁰

The Manchester New Churchmen were not only radical in practices, but also in beliefs. In 1799 the Manchester Society denied the divine authority of the writings of Swedenborg, thereby starting a controversy which has never ceased to the present day. The Rev. Francis Leicester, in a new periodical, the *Aurora, or Dawn of Genuine Truth*, defended the orthodox belief: "We receive his Writings upon no other ground than his being instructed to write them by the Lord Himself." The *Aurora* also took the "distinctive New Church view" of education, strenuously preaching the necessity for New Church schools for the purpose of protecting the children from the evils of "old church" influences. This propaganda finally resulted in the establishment of several New Church day schools. An article on *External Worship and the Priesthood of the New Church*, adumbrated issues which later became crucial. Behind this movement toward greater distinctiveness, both in doctrine and practice, stood Hindmarsh and his followers, while at the opposite extreme of non-sectarianism and catholicity, stood the Manchester liberals. Thus we find these two great divisions, which were carried over into the American New Church, clearly outlined in the first decade of the Church. In 1807 the schism was healed, and a General Conference met in the York St. Chapel, in St. James's Square. The principles of New Church baptism, New Church education, and separation from the old church were strongly affirmed, but resolutions were adopted the following year pleading for friendly relations and coöperation with the non-separatists and for a time the spirit of charity prevailed.⁴¹

It only remains now to speak of the missionary activities of the English New Church, by means of which the New

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Church in America was brought into existence. From the first the Great East Cheap Society showed a zealous missionary spirit. The societies at Salisbury, Bristol, Derby, Birmingham, and other places, were the immediate results. When Benedict Chastanier returned to his native land he became an active missionary in the French New Church. But it is the work in the New World which is our present interest. At the Second General Conference in 1790 Robert Jackson was ordained, after which he returned to his home in Jamaica with high hopes of converting the negro slaves. But in a letter to Hindmarsh the following year he expresses his deep disappointment in the lack of receptivity of the Africans, and his strong feeling that any immediate emancipation would be a mistake. That same year another member, Dr. Joseph Russell, moved to Halifax, Nova Scotia, and soon reported the establishment of a New Church Society, separated from the Church of England, and using the London Liturgy.⁴² But the first missionary venture, both in point of time and importance, was that of James Glen to the United States in 1784, of which we shall hear considerably more later. The New Church in England has continued to grow more or less continuously until it numbers at the present time about the same as its daughter church in America.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW CHURCH IN AMERICA: THE PIONEERS

The beginning of the New Church in the New World was the arrival of James Glen in Philadelphia in the early summer of 1784. He came a self-appointed apostle of the new religion, filled with the missionary fervor of the Great East Cheap Society of which he was a pioneer member. He would doubtless have been surprised to know that he was traversing territory over which Swedenborg's father had presided as non-resident bishop over the Swedish settlers of Pennsylvania. Had he visited the Old Swedes' Church in Wilmington, Delaware, he would have found there pastoral letters from Bishop Swedberg.¹ He probably knew nothing of the people to whom he was bringing the new gospel,—and certainly could have had no conception of the difficulties it was destined to encounter. But conditions were not entirely unfavorable to his mission. The pioneer spirit which had brought its settlers to the New World entered also into their religious life. Far less bound by traditions of orthodoxy than the people of the Old World, they were open to all sorts of new ideas, and the religious history of America has, in consequence, been a strange welter of strange faiths. In comparison with many of these cults and sects the doctrines of the New Church seem ultra-conservative, though to the members of the well-established older churches no doubt they seemed radical enough.

The method of propaganda chosen by James Glen was typical of the intellectual character of the new religion, and one calculated to attract only the educated classes. He inserted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 2, 1784, the following remarkable advertisement:

“FOR THE SENTIMENTALISTS”

“A Discourse on the extraordinary SCIENCE of Celestial and Terrestrial Connections and Correspondences, recently revived by the late honorable and learned Emanuel Swedenborg, will be delivered by Mr. James Glen, an humble Pupil and Follower of the said Swedenborg’s, at 8 o’clock on the evening of Saturday the 5th of June 1784, at *Bell’s Book-Store*, near St. Paul’s Church, in Third St. Philadelphia.”²

Among those attracted by this notice were Francis Bailey, John Young, and James Vickroy, all of whom became important leaders in the new religion. Glen delivered another lecture, and then departed for Boston, where he lectured at the Green Dragon Tavern. Here he made two converts of whom we shall hear later.³ After a brief tour through parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, Glen returned to his home in Demerara.⁴ Here he organized a small society among the neighboring planters which was in existence up to 1840. The New Church is now represented in Glen’s homeland only by a mission founded in 1900 by a colored minister sent out by the American New Church,—a return for that “bread of life” which he had so generously cast upon the waters of the New World. The latter days of “the Torchbearer of the New Church to the New World” were sad indeed. It is recorded that “the charity which existed in his heart did not allow him to treat the poor slaves as other men did,” and his once prosperous estate went to ruin. He died in poverty in a native hut on the plantation of one of his neighbors.⁵

THE NEW CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA

After the departure of James Glen a box of books, sent by Robert Hindmarsh from London, arrived in Philadelphia. These books, English editions of some of the works of Swedenborg, were sold at auction, and soon a reading circle of

enthusiastic converts was meeting regularly at the home of Francis Bailey.⁶ This little group became the center from which the new religion spread far and wide, southward into Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia, and westward beyond the Alleghenies. The leader was Francis Bailey, the most active of Swedenborg's first American disciples in the spread of the doctrines. Bailey was of French and Irish descent, his grandfather being a Huguenot who took refuge in Ireland after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The family later emigrated to Lancaster, Pa., where Bailey grew up on the family farm. He learned printing from Peter Miller, owner of the famous Ephrata Press on which the Declaration of Independence and the Continental money were printed.⁷ At the time of Glen's mission Bailey was about forty years of age, an elder in the Presbyterian Church, and a successful man of affairs. He was Printer to the State of Pennsylvania, editor and publisher of the *Freeman's Journal*, and a close friend of his fellow-printer, Benjamin Franklin, on whose will his name appears as a witness. From the diary of George Washington we learn that he made an invention to prevent the counterfeiting of bills and notes.⁸ In 1787 Bailey undertook the ambitious project of publishing the works of Swedenborg as the best method of spreading the doctrines, beginning with John Clowes' *A Summary View of the Heavenly Doctrines* distributed gratuitously as a sort of introduction. Two years later, with a subscription list of fifty, among whom were Benjamin Franklin and Robert Morris, he brought out the first volume of *The True Christian Religion*. As the subscriptions were not enough to cover the cost of the edition, Bailey assumed the entire deficit, and issued the thousand volumes at his own expense.⁹ In a letter to his friend Robert Carter Bailey says that his enthusiasm for the new religion resulted in the loss of many of his friends, and in 1800 he gave up his once prosperous business and retired to his farm in Lancaster.¹⁰

The second important convert, John Young, was a young lawyer of twenty-two, just beginning to show the ability which won for him a successful career as Presiding Judge of

Western Pennsylvania for many years. He was born in Glasgow, but had studied law in Edinburgh with the father of Sir Walter Scott. He was one of five children, "all sedulously and precisely instructed in the Solifidian dogmas of the antiburgher school,"—after which stern training the teachings of Swedenborg no doubt seemed "Heavenly Doctrine" indeed. In 1790 he moved to Greensburg where he lived the rest of his life, and became very active in the dissemination of the doctrines west of the Alleghenies. Later he became the hero of the first New Church romance, the heroine being Maria Barclay, an orphan living under Francis Bailey's hospitable roof. As there was no ordained New Church ministry as yet, the young couple were married by the Rev. Nicholas Collin of the Old Swedes' Church, who had known Swedenborg when a student at the University of Upsala. The bride's sister, Hetty Barclay, has the distinction of being the first real New Churchwoman in the world. She was one of the first subscribers to Robert Hindmarsh's new *Magazine of Knowledge* in 1790, and was the founder of the reading circle in Bedford, Pa., which became the first Society beyond the Alleghenies. The third convert, Thomas Vickroy, was sent in 1790 to survey the site of the present city of Pittsburgh, and he too was active in propaganda in the western part of the state.¹¹

Probably the first volume of Swedenborg to come to the New World was a copy of one of the Amsterdam editions brought over in 1746 by "Old Parson Schlatter" (the Rev. Michael Schlatter), a Swiss Presbyterian sent out by the Dutch Synods to organize the German Reformed Churches of Pennsylvania. This must have been one of the scientific works, as Swedenborg did not publish his first theological work until 1749. It was used by the Parson as a text-book for teaching his boys Latin.¹² Half a century later William Schlatter, a grandson of Parson Schlatter, became one of the pillars of the New Church in Philadelphia.

By 1808 Bailey's group had increased to about twenty, and was holding regular meetings in the schoolroom of Johnston Taylor.¹³ Among them were two Germans, Dan-

iel Thuun and Bailey's son-in-law, Frederick Eckstein, a sculptor, son of the court sculptor of Frederick the Great. (Eckstein later became the teacher of Hiram Powers, himself a New Churchman.)¹⁴ But the majority of the group were of Huguenot descent. Among these was Philip Freneau, one of our earliest poets, well-known for his stirring Revolutionary ballads. An edition of his poems was published in 1786 by Francis Bailey with whom he was associated in the *United States Magazine* of which he was editor and Bailey publisher. Later Freneau served as a translator in the State Department under Jefferson, and became the editor of the *National Gazette*.¹⁵ Daniel Lammot, another member of the group, was the grandson of Jean Henri de la Motte, and the father of Margaretta Lammot DuPont, whose husband, Alfred, was the son of Irenée DuPont, member of the National Guard and friend of Lafayette. A portrait painted by Sully shows Daniel Lammot as a young man, dark and handsome. Later in life he moved to Wilmington, Delaware, and became the founder of the New Church there.¹⁶ Other prominent Huguenots in the group were Jonathan Condy, of the famous house of Condé, an eminent lawyer who had served as Clerk of the House of Representatives during and after the Revolution, and his nephew, Condy Raguet, later member of the State Legislature, Chargé d'Affaires in Brazil, president of the Atlantic Insurance Co. and the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, and editor of several journals.¹⁷

By 1816 the society had grown into a church, and on June the sixth of that year they laid the cornerstone of their new Temple, the entire cost of which was defrayed by William Schlatter,¹⁸ grandson of the "Old Parson." This William Schlatter was one of the most interesting personalities in the early New Church, and he has left us much valuable information in his "letter-book" in which he kept copies of all his correspondence relating to the New Church from 1814 to 1825. He writes of himself thus: "All the kings and presidents may enjoy their dignities for me, if I can only be the Lord's merchant. If I have found the pearls of

great price and am now trading in them, what cause of joy to myself and friends." He established a small book store for the double purpose of dispensing the works of Swedenborg and of giving his friend Daniel Thuun a job. He conceived the brilliant idea of sending out books gratis in bales of cloth to his customers all over the country, and even to India, and to the Emperor of Hayti. But "the Lord's merchant," like his predecessor, Francis Bailey, fell upon evil days. In a letter to the Rev. John Clowes of Manchester, England, dated January, 1819, he tells of how he had published about seven thousand books and sermons, most of which he had distributed gratis, but that "owing to the late war with Great Britain and my particular branch of business (cloth merchant), my affairs became embarrassed." His creditors allowed him the time to meet his debts and wind up his business honorably, but he was never able to restore his fallen fortunes. He says that in 1814 he had been worth \$200,000, but that he feels compensated for the loss of his money by the thought of the New Church literature he has circulated. In 1824 he spent five months in Washington on government business concerning the ever-troublesome tariff, and shortly afterwards retired to his farm near Philadelphia to end his days.¹⁹

While the New Church was developing in Philadelphia it was also taking root in other parts of the state. In 1786 the doctrines were introduced among the Germans of Lancaster by William Reichenbach of Saxony. He came to Lancaster as professor of mathematics and German literature in Franklin College, and became a person of considerable influence among the educated Germans of that section. After 1790 a number of Philadelphia New Church families moved to Lancaster, including the Baileys, the Barbers, and the Ecksteins, and from 1796 to 1799 Baron Heinrich von Bülow, brother of General von Bülow, and an ardent New Churchman resided there and was active in spreading the doctrines. In 1836 a small chapel was built, the congregation being composed of former Lutherans and Catholics.²⁰ There was also a small society at Germantown, founded by

the Rev. Ralph Mather of Liverpool in 1792.²¹ A group of Free-will Baptists with their minister came over into the New Church in 1820, and formed what is now the Frankford Society. They were allowed to retain their form of baptism by immersion.²²

The New Church in Philadelphia was considerably annoyed by the arrival in 1817 of a group of forty-one "Bible Christians" from Salford, near Manchester, under the leadership of the Rev. William Metcalfe, successor to the Rev. William Cowherd, the Rev. John Clowes' heretical curate. Cowherd, as we have seen, had added vegetarianism and total abstinence to the teachings of Swedenborg, and had been the cause of the first schism in the English New Church. After his death in 1816, his followers determined to emigrate to America.²³ The attitude of the Philadelphia Society toward these unorthodox newcomers is expressed by William Schlatter: "We totally disapprove of his notion of abstaining from meat and wines as having anything to do with the doctrines or religion of the New Church."²⁴ But the new sect prospered even without the approval of the orthodox. By 1823 they had built a church. They believed that the Bible contained hidden truths still undiscovered, and by no means confined themselves to the interpretations of Swedenborg, though they accepted his teaching concerning the Lord, Divine Providence, Freedom of Will, and the Future Life. Mr. Metcalfe earned his living by teaching school, and devoted his spare time to journalism. In 1820 he began to publish a series of tracts called *Letters on Religious Subjects*, most of them written by Mr. Cowherd, to expound his special doctrines of vegetarianism and total abstinence. Among these was one called, *The Duty of Abstinence from all Intoxicating Drinks* (according to the Bible Christians, the first of its kind in America), and another, *Abstinence from the Flesh of Animals*, in 1821. He also began an active propaganda in the *Saturday Evening Post*, *The Philadelphia Gazette*, *The American Sentinel*, the *United States Gazette*, and other papers. For ten years he labored with no apparent results, but in 1830 he was

joined by Dr. Sylvester Graham, a temperance lecturer, and later by Dr. William A. Alcott, editor of the *Moral Reformer*, and the *Library of Health*. One of Metcalfe's sermons, *Bible Testimony on Abstinence from the Flesh of Animals*, was published and had a wide circulation. In 1832 he gave up teaching for journalism. His weekly newspaper, the *Independent Democrat*, was largely political, but later he also published the *Temperance Advocate*. He then took up the study of medicine, graduating as a homeopathic physician in 1852. In 1850 the American Vegetarian Convention was founded, with Metcalfe as president, and in 1851 he became editor of the *American Vegetarian and Health Journal*.²⁵ The Bible Christians also were active propagandists for the abolishment of war, capital punishment, and slavery. In the history of Swedenborgianism it has generally been the less orthodox and more radical followers that have had an intense interest in social reform.

In 1822 a young Episcopalian minister, the Rev. Manning B. Roche, abandoned his own church for the new doctrines. The scene of his farewell to his congregation is a dramatic one. "There was a general consternation. The whole congregation, by whom he is greatly beloved, melted into tears. 'Painful indeed it is for me thus to speak,' he said, 'painful, not to leave a corrupt church, but to leave you, to whom I have been, and still am, united in a most sincere affection. Never, may I say, did I feel a deeper sorrow, than I feel this day. Never did I come to make a greater sacrifice. All my former labors of body or of mind were nothing to this! But it is unavoidable. I cannot preach contrary to my conscience! I go then, and I know not where! I go to endure the frowns of men, and perhaps poverty and distress. I go, but I trust, yea, I know, Jesus will go with me, and will open to me some door of useful labour.'"²⁶ This must have been the state of mind of many clergymen of other denominations who gave up assured incomes and social position for the bleakly uncertain prospects of the struggling little new sect. Mr. Roche at once went to work to found a new Society in the Southwark section

with a hundred and fifty members, and known as the Second New Jerusalem Church of Philadelphia.²⁷

There was considerable connection between the Quakers and the Swedenborgians in Philadelphia, and many Quakers in time became members of the New Church. Schlatter wrote in 1817: "There has been a celebrated Quaker preacher of the name of Elias Hicks preaching in our city within the last ten days and created great interest among all classes of religious persons. He preached the doctrines of the New Church, particularly on the doctrines of the Lord, and Love and Charity. He denied the resurrection of the natural body and hooted at the idea of predestination and universal restoration. Thus you see we are getting help from without the camp." He also writes in 1824: "I note what you say about Mr. Roche and the New Light Quaker woman who preaches for him and he for them. It is true, I am sorry to say, and he thinks now there is no use reading Emanuel Swedenborg, and that the influx, or some sort of light, will come to those who preach without searching. This is real Quakerism and so let them go together."²⁸ The Rev. Mr. Roche developed other radical tendencies, and became a disciple of Robert Owen, the English Socialist. Schlatter informs us that "Mr. Roche you know likes something new. He is all alive to Mr. Owen's plan for a community composed of New Church people. He has almost persuaded nearly all his congregation to go, and many of the Frankford Society. They are all to work hard and live in common,—and I fear it will be common enough. It sounds well on paper, but I doubt much if the members of the New Church are prepared for the state of things." And in another letter: "New Churchmen are not fully regenerated, neither are they mules. . . . We may be much reduced, but we are Americans and not prepared to herd together like the poor manufacturers of England and Scotland, and I for one, will take my chance to bustle with the world to get a living, and think I can perform more uses in that situation than by secluding myself. . . . We must mix with the world, how else can the Lord regenerate

us? We must come into states of trial and temptation.”²⁰ There is no record of Mr. Roche’s venture in the list of Owenite communities, so it is a fair inference that the project fell through. Mr. Roche, after twenty years of successful ministry in the Southwark Society, became a dipsomaniac, and fell into a serious illness. When he recovered he had forgotten everything concerning the New Church, had no further interest in religion, and became a physician.²¹

By 1824 the First Society was in a state of complete collapse, due to the financial troubles of its principal members in the period of depression following the War of 1812. The fine new Temple built by William Schlatter only eight years before had to be given up. In 1826, however, the little group was strengthened by the conversion of a prominent Quaker physician, Dr. Edwin Atlee, who preached the doctrines of the New Church in the City Commissioner’s Hall, and made a few converts. The following year the Society began to hold regular services again in the school-room of their leader, the Rev. Maskell Carll, and the faithful remnant of six or seven was soon increased to sixty or seventy.²² Though the Philadelphia Society never wholly recovered its position of leadership in the American New Church it is one of the strongest single societies in the Church to-day.

IN THE SOUTH

The story of the New Church in the South is a story of individuals rather than of groups, due to the great distances existing between plantations and towns. There is some doubt as to who was actually the *first* reader of Swedenborg among the landed aristocracy of Virginia, but perhaps that is a question of minor importance. It is an important fact, however, that there were readers of Swedenborg in Virginia some years *before* James Glen delivered his memorable lectures in Philadelphia. The libraries on the great plantations were made up of books imported from Europe, and it is not altogether surprising that a copy or two of Swedenborg’s Latin editions were found among them. It is stated

that Robert Carter's library at Nomony Hall contained over fourteen hundred and fifty volumes of French and English classics.⁸² At any rate it is known that Lord Thomas Fairfax, Baron of Cameron, who had come to America in 1746 to take charge of the five-million-acre estate left him by his grandfather, Lord Culpeper, owned a copy of Swedenborg's *Principia*, and some of the theological works in the original Latin editions. He continued to attend the Episcopal Church, however, and raised his children in it, but his son, the second Thomas Fairfax, was a devout Swedenborgian. He freed his slaves, after having them trained to earn their living in various trades. Another son, the Rev. Bryan Fairfax of Christ Church, Alexandria, though an Episcopal minister, was deeply interested in Swedenborg. His sons, Thomas and Ferdinand, were both New Churchmen, the latter being the founder of the Society in Washington, D. C.⁸³ Other early New Churchmen in Virginia were Arthur and William Campbell, of Abingdon. Col. Arthur Campbell is said to have been introduced to the doctrines by a British officer during the Revolution, though there is another story to the effect that he received them in a bale of goods from William Schlatter.⁸⁴ There was also Dr. John Cabell of Lynchburg, who is described as "a man of considerable property and standing in society, and very zealous in the cause."⁸⁵ The Rev. Hugh White, M.A., a minister of the Church of Scotland in Charlottesville was converted to the doctrines, and in 1817 published a religio-philosophical tract of great interest, called, *Cosmogenia, containing an Illustration that Gravitation and Projectile Force, considered as abstract Powers, are insufficient to preserve Solar Systems in Existence; that this world was not made out of nothing, nor of the Eternal and Imaginary atoms of Epicurus; that Nature or Matter originated of Spirit, etc.* This was the first attempt to apply New Church principles to scientific subjects.⁸⁶

But the most interesting of these early Virginia New Churchmen was Col. Robert Carter, of Nomony Hall, or Councillor Carter, as he is called in the documents of the time.

He had inherited from his grandfather, the famous "King" Carter, an estate of sixty thousand acres, and six hundred slaves. Up to the age of forty-nine Robert Carter, like Thomas Jefferson, John Randolph, and so many of the Virginia gentry, was a Deist. William and Mary College at Williamsburg where Carter had his "town house," was the center from which free-thinking pervaded the aristocracy. But during the evangelical activities of the "Great Awakening" he came under the spell of a Baptist preacher, Lewis Lunsford, and was baptized by him on September 6th, 1778. At this time the Baptists were a persecuted sect in Virginia, but Carter built them a chapel, later called the Morattico Church, of which he was an active member for many years, and made his home a rendezvous for Baptist evangelists. But the extraordinary thing about Carter's conversion is his own account of it in his journal, dated September 6th, 1778. It is written, as was his custom, in the third person: "He, Robert Carter, believeth that Jesus Christ, in his State of Humiliation possessed a full and perfect righteousness; that if the Lord had not assumed human nature that a total Damnation was, at that time, at hand, and threatened every Creature, but now it is not so,—for the Lord came into the World, to subdue the Hells that are in us, and to glorify his manhood." This is neither the theology nor the phraseology of the Great Awakening,—it is almost a paraphrase of Swedenborg's exact words in the *True Christian Religion*. These words were written by Carter before there was any English translation of this book, and only seven years after the publication of the Latin edition. There is, of course, a possibility that he had come across a copy of the first edition while on a visit to England, during which his portrait was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds. As Reynolds' sight began to fail in 1789, Carter must have been in England at least before that date. There is nothing inconsistent in his joining the Baptist Church, for there was at the time no New Church in the world, and he probably saw in the evangelistic fervor of the Great Awakening an evidence of that onir-

itually regenerated Christianity which Swedenborg called the New Jerusalem.⁵⁷

In 1790 a neighbor lent Carter a copy of the *Treatise on Influx* which had been sent to him by a New Church friend in Baltimore. Now for the first time Carter learned of the existence of the New Church. He wrote at once to Francis Bailey, to order his edition of the *True Christian Religion*, and a friendly correspondence sprung up between the two enthusiasts. He then got in touch with the members of the Baltimore Society which was just being established in 1791, and ordered for them through Bailey fifty copies of the new English Liturgy just published the year before by Hindmarsh. He mentioned in a letter his plan of having it reprinted in America for the use of the new Society. In 1792 he wrote to the Rev. James Wilmer, leader of the Baltimore group, "I hope that I feel thankful that there is a way opened, and not very remote of this place, that in a public way I may co-operate in endeavours of promoting the welfare and prosperity of the New Jerusalem Church."⁵⁸ He seems at the same time, however, to have kept up his Baptist affiliations in Virginia.

The second unusual feature of Col. Carter's conversion is the fact that under the stimulus of his new religion he began to free his slaves and sell his estates. In John Rippon's *Baptist Annual Register*, "American Letters," mention is made in 1791 of four hundred and forty-two slaves freed by Carter. The Baptists still considered him one of their fold. The entry in his own diary reads: "On 1st August, 1791, Robert Carter had 455 slaves, whom he emancipated, 15 each year of those under 45, and all under 18 of female, and 21 of male, when they arrived at those ages." And in a letter to Hargrove in 1801, he describes the matter more fully. "The few hints lately mentioned to you concerning my former meditations to propagate the theological Writings of Baron Emanuel Swedenborg in the County of Westmoreland in the Commonwealth of Virginia,—a plan that at that time was in my power, but now not so,—having dispossessed myself of the following property, namely, several planta-

tions, well stocked with different animals, also sundry slaves, labourers, and mechanics, et cetera. When in the possession of the property mentioned above I found liberty to hazard an attempt to introduce the Writings, but at present I have neither funds, nor strength of body to co-operate in the measure proposed in yours of yesterday.”³⁹ There is a pathetic note of disillusionment in this letter, the cause of which will appear later. In the absence of any direct statement on his part as to the motive for this tremendous act of self-sacrifice, it is unsafe to be dogmatic, but it is nevertheless significant that it took place *thirteen years* after his Baptist conversion, and just at the time when he was actively and publicly allying himself with the New Church. Since, however, abolition was one of the important features of the revivalism of this period, it may have been the Baptists who sowed the seed which blossomed later under the inspiration of Swedenborg’s teaching concerning the African race, which, as we have seen, produced so powerful an effect on Wadström and others. And however disillusioned Carter may have become with the New Church, he remained a staunch abolitionist to the end, and was an active member of the Baltimore Abolition Society.

The early receivers in the South were mostly people of large estates, and a number of New Church families built their own chapels for family worship, but due to the isolated conditions, groups were slow in forming. The first Society was at Abingdon, founded by the Rev. Holland Weeks on a missionary tour in 1822. He baptized fifty or sixty persons at Abingdon alone. An account of conditions in America in the *New Church Repository* in 1818 says: “The intelligence from the north, east, and west, is cheering beyond former example. Why does the South keep back?”⁴⁰ And indeed the doctrines of the New Church have never secured much foothold south of the Mason and Dixon Line. This is due very largely to the great strength of the evangelical churches. By 1844 there were small circles of receivers in Frankfort and Louisville, Ky., Nashville and Knoxville, Tenn., Natchez, Miss., Charleston, S. C., and Savannah,

Ga.,⁴¹ but these were sporadic efforts which soon expired. At the present time there are only four Societies south of Maryland represented in the General Convention, the work elsewhere being conducted by two missionary ministers. The South is still one of the most difficult mission fields.

THE NEW CHURCH IN BALTIMORE

Although it was in Philadelphia that the first group of readers of Swedenborg was formed, it was in Baltimore that the first actual New Church Society in America was organized. Their leader, the Rev. James Wilmer, a former Episcopal minister, and a graduate of Christ Church College, Oxford, preached the first New Church sermon in the New World in 1792. Christian Kramer, one of the founders of the Society, writes to Robert Hindmarsh: "We are twenty-two in number, and are formed into a Society professing the doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church; but none of the rich, the great, or the noble, are amongst us. . . . Our worst enemies are the Methodists, who are a large body of people, and take much pains to prevent any communications between us, by ordering the members of their Society not to read any of the books."⁴² The group decided that complete separation from the old church was necessary, and rented an old theater for three months in which to hold meetings. The following year they boldly presented a copy of *The True Christian Religion* to President Washington on the occasion of his visit to Baltimore. To this gift the President responded graciously.⁴³ The Baltimore Society differed from the Philadelphia Society in being composed of people of rather moderate means, many of them being Germans. When the question came up of a suitable liturgy for their services they were glad to accept Robert Carter's generous offer to have the English Liturgy reprinted for them at his own expense. This first American Liturgy was printed by Samuel and John Adams of Baltimore at a cost of \$600.00. It contained no changes from the English edition, except the substitution of a prayer for the President for

that for the King, and a special prayer "for the establishment of the New Church in these United States." This book became the basis of the present ritual of the Church. They also used the Hymn Book written by Joseph Proud for the Great East Cheap Society.⁴⁴

But in spite of this propitious beginning it was not altogether plain sailing for the Baltimore Society. In a few years the Rev. James Wilmer, discouraged by its slow growth, gave up his connection with the New Church, and the group was left without a minister. After Robert Carter had impoverished himself by freeing his slaves and disposing of his estates, he came to Baltimore to live in 1794. He found the little Society in a forlorn state, and undertook to keep the group together. He held meetings at his home, and administered the sacraments, but there was a great deal of disharmony among the members. Carter wrote to his friend, Arthur Campbell, that "Differences occurred, some members recommending animal magnetism; Baptizing Infants, when neither Parents nor Persons offering the Children had submitted to the ordinance themselves; and the doctrine of universal Redemption, etc. Other members apprehend that if the notions mentioned before be countenanced, powerful reasoning would burst forth to discountenance a Separation from the Old Church."⁴⁵ These seem troubles enough to wreck any society. In Carter's letters we have the first mention of animal magnetism in the annals of the New Church in America. In a letter dated July 7, 1794, he says: "Your thoughts on animal magnetism forbid the practice of the science under a belief that magnetisers are not receptive of the heavenly doctrines; if they in exchange are aided so as to foretell future events, and do effect a transient removal of distresses, that their cures are not permanent. . . . When animal magnetism was under consideration an operator, one of our society here, admitted that the power of magnetism was common to mankind; that he apprehended the wicked magnetisers would apply the science unprofitably, as patients were entirely divested during the crisis of *liberty* or *rationality*, having resigned them both to

the *operator.*" There is also a letter from one of the magnetizers, Robert Holston, to Carter: "Dear Sir: I firmly believe that sincere love to Jesus and love to one another will be the cord that will bind the members of the New Church together. . . . As I would not, if I knew it, have offended one of the followers of the Lord, as I firmly believe you are, although you have said that animal electricity and magnetism is of the devil, and you can have no fellowship with those that practice that science, and as I am of the opinion the discourse was directed to the import that you can have no fellowship with me. I love that science for the good that is in it, not for profit. . . . Sir, I think if you understood the good that will be produced by the science you would change your mind.—May that love which is from above direct us all."⁴⁶ Thus we see that animal magnetism was one of the rocks upon which the Baltimore Society was split. Part of the members remained with Carter, and the rest rallied around other leaders.

Carter now undertook to organize his remnant of nine members on a new and original basis, distinctly anti-clerical in spirit. When Robert Hindmarsh began to advocate an episcopacy in the English New Church Carter wrote in disgust: "Because of his advocacy of episcopacy, I have declined to correspond with Mr. Robert Hindmarsh, and to wait the Pleasure of the Lord."⁴⁷ He had in 1790 drawn up a "Plan to Unite an Independent Congregation," and it was according to this strange document that in 1797 he organized his little band. It reads as follows: "We ye subscribers are of the opinion that ye particular Heresies countenanced by all ye different sects were introduced and continued by ye Clergy." (Therefore they would have no clergy.) "The Board (of Elders) shall choose a male Subscriber, he to be called President of ye incorporated Congregation. . . . The intention of ye Subscribers is to revive ye Apostolic Plan of Church Government, and if we fail therein, it is intended that all errors may be amended in future. . . . Ye Society propose to employ a Schoolmaster, a Musician and a Doctor of Physic," who was to attend the members free of charge.

The officers were all to be paid regular salaries. Stock was to be sold at \$100.00 a share, two shares to give one vote, and so on up to six votes. The Society was to deal commercially in the sale of cotton, flax and hemp. This ambitious project unfortunately lasted only a year, and then dropped to pieces leaving Robert Carter a disillusioned old man.⁴⁸

The development of the New Church now centers around the person of the Rev. John Hargrove, who had been ordained by Francis Asbury of the Methodist Church. He and his colleague, the Rev. Adam Fonerden,⁴⁹ accepted the new doctrines, and in 1798 published a document which caused considerable sensation in the stronghold of Methodism. It was called: *A Valedictory Address to the people called Methodists*, and begins: "Respected and Dear Brethren: As a very important change has taken place in our sentiments, respecting an article of the Christian religion, which, in our view, is one of the most essential, and which, if erroneous, of course must have its influence upon *all other doctrines* which flow from it, or are connected with it; and as we already feel, that this change will subject us, in future to considerable embarrassment, or what is far worse, unfaithfulness in our public ministration and services; we have therefore, after the most solemn and serious consideration of the subject and its consequences, both with respect to the welfare of the Church, to whom, *until now*, we have been connected, as well as that of our own souls, come to this conclusion:—That it is best for us peaceably and quietly to withdraw ourselves, and resign our membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church. . . . We do not wish to enter into any controversy with any person or persons upon earth, respecting our sentiments; for '*where controversy is, there is every evil work*': yet we conceive it may be but consistent with our present duty, calmly and meekly to mention, that the leading article, in which *we* differ from *you*, is the *doctrine of the Trinity*." After a long doctrinal discussion of the difference between Swedenborg's teaching on this subject and that of the old church, the *Valedictory* ends: "Could we have thought it possible to have enjoyed our present

sentiments amongst you *in a latitude suitable to our stations*, we should not thus withdraw ourselves; but as we have no doubt such indulgence would, *on your part*, be deemed wholly inadmissible, we have no other alternative left us to preserve a consistent character and a good conscience.— Our wish and desire is notwithstanding, to live in as much peace and friendship with you all, as on our part will be possible.”⁵⁰ This letter is an excellent answer to the question of why the New Church was obliged to become a separate ecclesiastical institution.

Fonerden became discouraged and relapsed into Methodism, but Hargrove was made of sterner stuff. In spite of having eight children to support, after being thrown out of his teaching position by the Methodists, as well as losing his clerical salary, he stuck doggedly to the New Church, and became in time its highly honored patriarch. A new Society was now formed of the dissatisfied group from Carter’s Society under the joint ministry of Hargrove and Mather. The ceremony by which they were invested was the first ordination in America, and from them have descended the entire line of American New Church ministers in a direct line of “apostolic succession.” The ceremony was performed “by the same mode as the first ordination in the New Church in London was performed, namely, by the laying on of the hands of all the few male members or receivers of the New Jerusalem doctrines then in Baltimore and present, with solemn prayer accompanying the said act,” according to Mr. Hargrove’s own statement. The minutes of the meeting say, “ten elders or representatives chosen.” In the course of the year disagreements arose between the two pastors, and Mather returned to Europe, leaving Hargrove sole pastor. On January 5th, 1800, their new temple was dedicated, the first in the New World.⁵¹

From now on things went splendidly, forty families joining the church in a year. In 1801 Hargrove undertook the publication at his own expense of the first New Church periodical in America, a fortnightly called *The Temple of Truth*, and founded for the express purpose of refuting the

Philadelphia Deist publication, *The Temple of Reason*. One of Hargrove's subscribers was John Carroll, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Baltimore, who was also one of his close friends. After only thirteen numbers the brave little venture went down for lack of support, but it went down with flying colors in a "Valedictory" to its antagonists: "The serious truths that have occupied the chief department of the *Temple* are too rational for a mere fanatic [probably referring to the Methodists], and too spiritual for a mere deist; and hence these formidable opponents, though naturally at variance one with the other, have cordially harmonized like Herod and Pontius Pilate of old to condemn Jesus (or genuine truth)."⁵²

When Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated in 1801 the Baltimore New Church sent him a copy of *The True Christian Religion*. In his reply to John Hargrove's letter accompanying the gift, Jefferson wrote: "The Philanthropy which breathes through the several expressions of your letter is a pledge that you will endeavour to diffuse the sentiments of benevolence among our fellow men, and to inculcate the important truth that they promote their own happiness by nourishing kind and friendly dispositions toward others. Commending your endeavours to the *Being* in whose hands we are, I beg you to accept assurances of my perfect consideration and respect." Hargrove wrote jubilantly to Hindmarsh: "It is said that Mr. Jefferson (the new President) is a Deist: be it so (though it was never yet proved) I would hope for a better state for the Lord's New Church under an enlightened, calm, bland Deist, than under a contracted bigot of any sect in Christendom." His confidence in Jefferson's broad-mindedness was fully justified, for the following year he received an invitation to preach in the Rotunda of the Capitol before the President and Congress. This was indeed a proud day for the New Church! The sermon, which was on "The Leading Doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church," must have made a good impression, for two years later the invitation was repeated.⁵³

The Baltimore Society thrived under Hargrove's intelligent leadership. For twenty-four years he held the post of City Registrar, for the New Church in those early days was not able to support its ministers, and was greatly beloved in Baltimore for his honesty, courage, and benevolence. His position in the New Church was not altogether an easy one, for his Society was really composed of two elements who had little in common except their religion, the Germans and the English. Many of the Germans did not even speak English, and in time they separated from the parent Society, forming a group of their own under the leadership of a newly converted young Lutheran minister, the Rev. Arthur O. Brickman. In 1857 they dedicated the first German New Church Temple in the world. They also published a German periodical, *Der Bote der Neuen Kirche*.⁵⁴

THE NEW YORK SOCIETY

The first New Churchman in New York City was Dr. Joseph Russell of the Great East Cheap Society, who had gone out to Nova Scotia in 1791 and founded a Society in Halifax. The following year he moved to New York and by 1793 had gathered together several newly arrived New Church families from England. Among these were the Motts and the Braggs from Birmingham, and the Banks family from Norwich. In 1796 this group went to pieces, due to the death of Mr. Mott and Mr. Bragg from yellow fever, and the return of their families to England.⁵⁵ Mr. Mott's son remained, however, and appears later in another group. In 1795 another Englishman, the Rev. William Hill, who had been ordained in the Church of England under the influence of John Clowes, and was a non-separatist, arrived in New York after a year of preaching New Church doctrines in Old Church pulpits in and around Boston. He settled in what he called "the neat Dutch village of Flat Bush," and began an active campaign of newspaper advertising the works of Swedenborg, and free gifts of books to public institutions.⁵⁶ (One of these gifts was a copy of

Bailey's Philadelphia edition of *The True Christian Religion* to King's College.) He wrote to Adam Fonerden that New York was not in a favorable state for the Heavenly Doctrines, for the rage for politics was "an impediment to the admission of subjects of a higher nature," but that "nevertheless the Writings are making considerable stir for the college and city libraries, and I have good reason to expect some conversions among prominent characters, with whom I have become acquainted, that will have a considerable influence." He objected seriously to certain publicity methods of the day, such as publishing excerpts from the Writings in the public press. Of one of these zealous propagandists he writes: "This gentleman is certainly a zealous friend of the same cause, but I cannot say I am perfectly at one with him in the mode he has heretofore adopted of parcelling out the sublime and holy doctrines of the New Jerusalem through the impure channel of a newspaper. However these things must be left to the Lord, who doubtless inspires every good motive. I cannot entertain very sanguine hopes of much real good being done as yet in this country by the external preaching of the new doctrines, the general state being so much opposed to the purificatory process necessary for the reception of them."⁵⁷ By this Hill is referring to Swedenborg's teachings that the *will* must be purified and regenerated by "the shunning of evils as sins against the Lord" before the mind can be opened interiorly to the influx of new spiritual truths. He evidently considered America hopelessly unregenerate!

In 1796 Hill, who had returned to England, refused a call to the new Baltimore Society, saying: "Did I feel myself prepared for the high and holy office, which you and other friends would call me to, I am more confirmed in the desire of rather attempting something in one of the establishments already existing. Swedenborg remained in his own church, and says expressly that the New Jerusalem is to tarry a while among those of the Old Church. Nevertheless, my friend, I would not strain these things too far; the state of things may now be somewhat different, especially

in America where there is no establishment, and there as in England, I am free to join with and profit by, and according to my little ability, strengthen the good that remain, whether in what is called the old church or the new, among separatists or non-separatists.”⁵⁸ The following year Hill returned to America, and was married in Philadelphia to Esther Duché, the daughter of the Rev. Jacob Duché, by whom he had been converted to the doctrines of Swedenborg in England. He bought a farm near Philadelphia, and there he remained until his death in 1804 working on his translations of some of the writings of Swedenborg. It is an interesting fact that William Hill was ordained into the ministry of the Church of England *after* his conversion to the doctrines of Swedenborg, and though an active propagandist of New Church teaching, like his two teachers of theology, Duché and Clowes, remained a non-separatist.⁵⁹

In 1805 Edward Riley, another newly arrived English New Churchman, began to hold services at his home. The minutes of a meeting held on December 22, 1805, show it to have been something of a family affair: “At a meeting of the following friends of the New Church to worship the Lord after the manner and form of our friends at Friars Street Chapel, Black Friars, London,—was read the sermon on the ‘Fulness and Perfection of the Lord’s Prayer,’ preached by Mr. Sibley, March 15, 1803—Present—Mr. William Mott, Mrs. Mary Mott, Edward Riley, Elizabeth Riley, Eleanor Riley, and my children, Elizabeth Riley, Edward Riley, Henry Riley, and Frederick Riley, at No. 16 Chambers St., New York.” By 1811 this group had grown into a Society which held meetings in a schoolhouse on James St.⁶⁰ One of the members of this Society, Samuel Woodworth, author of *The Old Oaken Bucket*, and other poems, commenced an important undertaking, the publication of the *Halcyon Luminary*, the first American New Church monthly magazine. In its first year it rose to a subscription list of over three thousand, and became an important organ of propaganda, but this success was shortlived, and the magazine failed after two years, probably due to the

War of 1812 with its economic disturbances. In the introduction to the first volume appears the following quaint statement: "With respect to the choice of a title we were governed wholly by the character and temper which this Magazine is intended to adopt and ever to wear:

"In all our strictures placid we will be
As Halcyons brooding on a summer sea."

Though the leading articles were devoted, of course, to New Church doctrine and the affairs of the Church, there were also articles on the greatest variety of subjects, as the following titles from Volume One will show: "Anecdotes of American Painters," "Progress of the Arts," "Animal found alive in the lungs of a Negro Boy," "Astrological Predictions," "Cure for the Asthma," "Barrows, description of those found in America," "On rocking Children to sleep," "Account of the Execution of Mme. Desmaulins," "Natural History of the Elephant," "Requisites for a Lady's Toilet," "Punishment of Criminals," "Zoroaster's Definition of the Supreme Being," "Reflection on the size of our Globe," "Recipe to destroy bed bugs," "On the Vulgar Notion of the Resurrection," "Invention for spinning wool," "Thoughts on Matrimony," "Painting on Velvet," "Periodical Affections of Maniacs," "Anecdote of Leonardo da Vinci."⁶¹

In an article entitled "Correspondences of Volcanos, with their natural causes," it is explained that their cause is a mineral substance called *pyrites*, composed mostly of sulphur and iron, "which lie very quietly together in the earth, till water finds its way to them, which though strange to tell, cause those matters that before lay quiescent, to burst out into flame, . . . producing earthquakes, and all the different tremendous et-ceteras of volcanic phenomena. . . . When the above is viewed in a *spiritual* point of view, what a striking correspondency appears! It is in the earth (that is, the church), never in a valley, always on the top of a mountain (the summit of pride), iron (natural truth), and sulphur (the evil of self-love), abide very quietly together,

till water (heavenly truth, or truth from a celestial origin) flows in, and then the collision begins, and earthquakes (change of state) and fire (the false principle derived from the evil of self-love) ensues, with all its various attendants." According to the "Vulgar Notion of the Resurrection," "all mankind who have existed from Adam till now (near six thousand years) are still in some kind of existence, without form or substance; waiting (and doubtless impatiently waiting) for the destruction of the world, the resurrection of their bodies, and a complete state of existence. But what an unpleasing, what a melancholy view is this! . . . Is it not wonderful that the blessed God should suffer his servants and children to remain so many ages in such an uncomfortable state? And is it not equally strange, that the happiness of *immortal souls—rational, intelligent beings*, should depend upon the raising again those innumerable particles of mere dust and dirt, which have mixed with their mother earth fifty or sixty centuries? . . . Surely, sirs, we have received these notions by tradition; and have not closely reasoned upon them, that we might see their absurdity."⁶²

In 1816 the "Association of the City of New York for the Dissemination of the Doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church" was founded with Nathaniel Holley, a school-master, president, Samuel Woodworth, Vice-president, James Chesterman, treasurer, and Charles Doughty, secretary. The real leader of the group was Mr. Doughty, a successful lawyer of Quaker stock, who preached to the Society on Sunday, and in 1818 was ordained to the ministry. By 1821 a new Temple had been built on Pearl St. and was consecrated with elaborate ceremonies. The preacher, the Rev. Mr. Carll of the Philadelphia Society, was robed in white linen to represent Divine Truth, and Mr. Doughty, who read the prayers, was in black to represent Contrition and Humiliation.⁶³ But the new Temple soon fell on evil days. Mr. Doughty became "infected" with the "conjugal heresy," of which we shall hear more later, and this caused dissensions in the church. William Schlatter, our never-failing source of information, writes in 1822: "There are

already two parties in New York, and it will certainly split the church asunder." The next year he writes: "The Society in New York is in danger of being broken up. My last letter from there states that five heads of families have ceased to go to hear Mr. Doughty preach. They cannot comprehend his new notions, and are much dissatisfied with his conduct. They go to other churches." About this time Mrs. Caroline Matilda Thayer, the superintendent of the Female Department of the Wesleyan Seminary of New York, was converted to New Church doctrines. She wrote an open letter to the Methodists stating her convictions, and was promptly dismissed from her position. But the "conjugial party" now began to persecute her because she would not join them, and she threatened to withdraw from the Church. William Schlatter wrote to dissuade her from this step. "Nothing would give them greater pleasure," he writes, "than for you to withdraw from the Society. That would be just what I have no doubt they wish from what I saw in New York, and as Mrs. G. says, 'Your sphere infests her.'" But in spite of this appeal the strong-minded Mrs. Thayer returned to the Methodist fold.⁶⁴ Things went from bad to worse in the New York Society, until in 1837 it was reported to be in "an unhappy and unhealthy condition," and the following year Mr. Doughty was removed by a tribunal of ordaining ministers, and a number of the members went with him. The remaining members were not strong enough to keep up the new Temple, and were forced to give it up. They continued to hold services, however, in a hall on Broadway with Mr. E. C. Riley as leader. Later the Society was reorganized by Mr. Thomas Worcester of Boston, but a "Charitable Association" was formed among the members to tell each other their faults as an aid to a more rapid regeneration. The results of this were not altogether what had been hoped for, and further dissensions ensued. In the meantime Mr. Doughty had moved to Riverhead, Long Island, and the schismatic group disbanded.⁶⁵

The next unfortunate event in the New York Society was

an attack of spiritualism called the New Era Movement in 1844. It was instituted by Silas Jones, who gained intercourse with spirits through a Brooklyn astrologer. Its adherents met privately for worship and spiritualistic practices. The Rev. Samuel Worcester, formerly of Boston, became an adherent and claimed ordination as high priest by the spirit of Swedenborg. He instituted a new priesthood, beginning with his son, Samuel H. Worcester, whose ordination was repudiated by the Massachusetts Association. The Worcesters later renounced spiritualism and the Rev. Richard DeCharms of Philadelphia came up to New York to reclaim the lost sheep by means of a course of sermons on the evils of "Pseudo-Spiritualism." At last these various difficulties disappeared and the New York Society settled down to a peaceful existence. In 1854 Mr. Chesterman bequeathed to the New York Society the 35th Street property, and in 1858 the cornerstone of the present church edifice was laid.⁶⁶

The first New Church Society on Long Island was at Baiting Hollow. In Nathaniel S. Prime's *History of Long Island* it is stated that "in 1813 or 1814 a Mr. Horton (a member of the Congregational Church in Baiting Hollow) embraced the doctrines of Emanuel Swedenborg and early in 1825 withdrew from the Congregational Church and set up a separate place of worship. In 1831 a New Jerusalem Church was organized, consisting of thirteen members. In 1839 a house of worship, twenty-four by thirty-six feet, was erected. Mr. Horton conducted services until 1844 when Rev. M. M. Carll was employed here a part of the time." This little Society continued for many years, but in 1881 it was reported "in a state of suspended animation," and later passed out altogether. Its remaining members joined the Riverhead Society, which was founded by Mr. Doughty in 1839.⁶⁷

There were also a few early Societies "up State." In 1812 Dr. Louis Beers, a Universalist minister in Danby, N. Y., happened upon a copy of the *Halcyon Luminary* and was converted. Many of his congregation remained loyal

when he announced his change of doctrine, and in 1817 a Society of twelve members was formed. He also organized another Society in Spencer, a nearby town. The same year a Society was formed in Platikill, near Newburgh, where considerable stir was caused by the publication of *An Interesting Correspondence between the Rev. John Johnson, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Newburgh, and Miss Elizabeth Jones, relative to the Change in her Opinions which occasioned her Dismissal from his Church.* This pamphlet, together with a small work, *Religion and Philosophy United*, by a Boston lady, proved that in America, at least, women were more than merely "vessels of affection," and drew forth from the Manchester Printing Society this eulogy: "The Almighty has still in his Church a Jael and a Judith, and has again sold Sisera and Holophernes into the hands of a woman."⁶⁸

THE NEW CHURCH IN BOSTON

Boston, which later became the real center of the New Church, was slow to accept the Heavenly Doctrine. James Glen's lectures netted only two converts, James Roby, a bookseller, and Major Joseph Hiller, first collector of revenues at Salem under the new Federal Constitution. Major Hiller and his wife were devout Episcopalians, but had suffered from doubts, especially with regard to the doctrine of the Trinity. After reading *Heaven and Hell* they accepted the new faith with enthusiasm, and sent to London for the rest of the Writings.⁶⁹ But it was the Rev. William Hill, the non-separatist, who aroused the first vital interest. In 1794 he came out from Liverpool and settled in the vicinity of Boston, preaching the doctrines of the New Church in Episcopal churches in and around Boston. Being a gentleman of means he was able to publish at his own expense a number of New Church works, including the first American edition of *Divine Love and Wisdom*, *The Nature of Influx*, and part of the *Arcana Coelestia*. He also translated *The Apocalypse Explained*, published in London by Hind-

marsh.⁷⁰ Among his converts were Dr. Samuel Brown, Dr. James Mann, Mr. Andrew Craigie, and Miss Margaret Cary, aunt of Elizabeth Cabot Cary, who became the wife of Professor Louis Agassiz and first President of Radcliffe College. It was at a ball at the famous Craigie House in Cambridge that Margaret Cary met William Hill, and she was greatly astonished to see a clergyman dance. Born on a sugar plantation in the British West Indies, Margaret Cary had been sent to England for her education. Later her father met with reverses, and the family returned to his mother's estate of three hundred and sixty acres in Chelsea, Mass. There she joined the Congregational Church at the age of eighteen, though brought up in the Church of England. A friend had lent her one of Swedenborg's works, which she had been reading for a year before her encounter with William Hill.⁷¹

But the New Church did not come into existence in Boston until 1816,—and it began with the Worcester family. Noah Worcester, D.D., its head, was a Congregational minister, and one of a family of ministers. He had created a great stir in his native New Hampshire by rejecting the Calvinistic view of the Trinity. His book, *Bible News of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, was condemned by the orthodox, and praised by men like Channing, Tuckerman, and Ware. He was also the author of *A Solemn Review of the Custom of War*, which led to the establishment of the Massachusetts Peace Society. It was from such a father that the Worcesters inherited their independence of thought. The elder brother, Samuel, received the doctrines in 1815 from a friend of William Hill's, and heard about the set of the *Arcana Coelestia* which Hill had presented to Harvard College. He told his younger brother, Thomas, then a student at Harvard, about these books and fired him with curiosity to see them. After his return to college in the fall Thomas Worcester began to search for the precious volumes. He searched the library shelves in vain, but finally discovered them covered with dust and rubbish in a small room called the "Museum" filled with stuffed crocodiles and other dis-

carded curiosities. How sad a sequel to Swedenborg's dream of his works respectfully enshrined in all the learned libraries of Christendom! ⁷² Filled with enthusiasm for his "find," Thomas Worcester gathered around him a small group of students willing to wind their way through this "mystic maze" of scholastic Latin. Among these brave young adventurers were Warren Goddard, J. H. Wilkins, T. B. Hayward, Theophilus Parsons, Nathaniel Hobart, Caleb and Sampson Reed, members of the class of 1818 and neighboring classes. Worcester wrote later of their treatment by the College: "Our position was well understood by the professors; and we expressed our views with the utmost freedom. We were active in bringing the doctrines to the attention of all who were ready to listen to them, and in corresponding with our friends at a distance on the subject. We were treated with great kindness by the government of the college, receiving as much as others from funds that could be applied to the payment of our expenses." (Worcester was working his way through college by waiting on tables and teaching during vacations.) This speaks well for Harvard's religious toleration. Worcester was later elected an Overseer, in 1854, and an honorary D.D. was conferred upon him by his Alma Mater in 1856.⁷³

In 1818 a Society of twelve members was organized by Samuel Worcester, consisting of a group who had been meeting for about a year at the home of Mrs. Margaret Hiller Prescott, the daughter of Major Hiller of Salem. It was Mrs. Prescott who was the author of *Religion and Philosophy United*, published in 1817, one of the first New Church collateral works in America. This little treatise had been written in a time of great mental distress, for her husband, a prosperous merchant, like William Schlatter of Philadelphia, had been financially ruined by the war and embargo of 1812.⁷⁴ There was another literary lady in the group, Mrs. Thomazine Minott, later, Mrs. Wilkins, who some years later, in 1837, published *A Little Book of Lessons for Children*. These intellectual activities on the part of the ladies did not escape criticism, though Mrs. Prescott mod-

estly apologized for presuming, mere woman as she was, to enter upon a philosophical discussion: "In mankind the particular receptacle for the light of divine truth is the understanding, and that for the heat of divine love is the will; so the male is formed to excel his partner in the depth of understanding, and consequent reception of divine wisdom; and the female to be distinguished by the predominance of the *love* of wisdom as existing in the male. Thus, if the writer has herein given but an obscure and very imperfect sketch of the philosophical principles which form the basis of a glorious system of divine truth,—it is, that its heavenly image has been received in *the warmth of the heart* rather than in the light of the understanding."⁷⁵ When Mrs. Wilkins' little book appeared, "some who took a superficial view of the subject thought in writing such a book she had gone outside the proper sphere of woman, saying that a woman should not 'make books,' that that work belonged only to men. Some things in the Writings, half understood, appeared to a few to justify such thoughts, but the more intelligent and wiser justified her effort to 'instruct the little ones by giving them in a little book what she had already given them in lessons.'"⁷⁶

The Society was formally established in 1818, the Rev. Mr. Carll of Philadelphia officiating. The scene is described by T. B. Hayward as follows: "The ceremony was very simple. We stood in a circle around the room, Mr. Carll read some suitable forms, including some passages from the Word, we kneeled, and united in repeating the Lord's Prayer; the proper questions were asked and answered. Mr. Carll then declared us to be a duly instituted church and we all signed our names to a Creed which had been previously agreed upon."⁷⁷ Thomas Worcester describes the occasion somewhat more grandiloquently: "Twelve persons, men and women, were instituted a church, not as a sect among the sects, but as the New Jerusalem foretold in the Apocalypse, which was to succeed the Christian dispensation." The personnel of this group is interesting. Besides Mrs. Prescott, Mrs. Minott, and Miss Cary, there

were two other women, Abigail and Eliza Cowell. The men were James Roby (Glen's original convert), Dr. James Mann (a former Deist converted by William Hill), Nathaniel Balch (a printer and grandson of an eminent Baptist clergyman), David A. Davies (a Jewish mechanic), Samuel and Thomas Worcester, and T. B. Hayward (one of the Harvard group). The ladies were not allowed to vote in the meetings, which was "a great relief" to Miss Cary. It is not recorded how the intellectual Mrs. Prescott and Mrs. Minott felt about it. The new Society chose young Thomas Worcester, now a student at the Harvard Divinity School, to be its leader.⁷⁸

There is some very interesting material concerning the early days of the Church in Boston. The conversion of one of its members, Warren Goddard, is described as follows: "He would go to bed at night and lie awake, and there would come before his vision a picture of the three Gods, the Trinity,—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and when that came to his mind he was distressed beyond measure; he did not know why. By and by, as he looked at the picture in his distress, two of the figures would fade away, leaving the Lord Jesus. Then he was happy,—he did not know why." In his fevered condition the young theological student finally consulted one of the older students, Sampson Reed, and was told to read Swedenborg. The Rev. H. Clinton Hay, present pastor of the Society, says that the early preaching was mostly exposition of the Scriptures and a contrasting of Old and New Church doctrines, but that a new generation soon arose who had been raised in the New Church and had no interest in Old Church errors. They cared very little for a methodical exposition of the Scripture, but wanted a broader application of the doctrines to life itself.⁷⁹

The Boston Society grew very slowly, and after ten years had increased to only sixty-three members, but they were quite complacent about their numerical weakness. Sampson Reed wrote: "Swedenborg and Wesley were contemporaries. Methodism began with many, increased rapidly, and has

overrun a large part of the Christian world. The New Church began with few, has increased very slowly, but has moved the Christian world from its very foundation, whilst they know it not.”⁸⁰ Their delegates to the Convention in 1834 reported: “This Society has never taken any special pains to swell the number of nominal receivers, nor to attract public attention to the doctrines by means of evening lectures, or discourses addressed particularly to those unacquainted with them.”⁸¹ This lack of missionary zeal distressed their Philadelphia brethren. From Schlatter’s letters may be gleaned a number of unfavorable comments. “It appears they live only for themselves,” he writes, “They do not appear to make any converts or care about it. . . . Mr. Wilkins had the effrontery to tell us to our own faces that we in Philadelphia had for our sole end the spreading of the doctrines, or making converts to the New Church, but they in Boston had their own regeneration as the end. . . . They have no zeal and are as cold as frogs. I never saw anything like piety about them, and their sphere is chilling. They only preach once on the Lord’s Day, and that in the afternoon.”⁸²

But what the Boston Society lacked in missionary expansion they made up for in intensive cultivation, and much of their exclusiveness was probably the result of a hostile environment. Thomas Worcester said that in the early days of his ministry hardly a respectable minister dared even to speak to him, and that the day school founded by them in 1836 was mainly for the purpose of protecting their children. The group of Harvard Theological students who had come under Worcester’s influence, faced a difficult situation when they graduated. The pulpits of the orthodox churches were closed against them, and their only other profession, teaching, was almost as hopeless, due to the intense prejudice against the new doctrines. Sampson Reed, one of the most brilliant philosophical minds in the group, gave up his theological ambitions to become a druggist. J. H. Wilkins became a successful banker and state senator, and

Theophilus Parsons a lawyer, and later Dean of the Harvard Law School.⁸³

Young Thomas Worcester solved the financial problem differently. At this time New Church ministers received no pay but earned their living in various professions, mostly as school-teachers. Worcester, however, "had a perception" that he should devote his entire time to the ministry. To quote William Schlatter: "It appears they think themselves in a celestial state and have perceptions of things just as the celestial angels have. . . . One of these perceptions is that Mr. Thomas Worcester must be their spiritual guide or preacher, and he had a perception that the lady he married was his conjugal partner the first time he ever saw her. They then *perceived* they must be married before he could be ordained, and next that he must be maintained and pursue no occupation but to preach." Philadelphia disapproved of paying ministers. Schlatter writes: "It does not appear in the present state of the church that any society is permitted to entirely maintain a minister without his exertions, and perhaps it is for the best or it would not be so, and one great cause of it may be to keep down the selfhood and pride of dominion in our clergymen which at present cannot have much root. And there is another good that will result from it, which is that no man will take up the ministry merely for the sake of a living."⁸⁴ This latter accusation could hardly have been made against Thomas Worcester, however, for the most the little Society was able to pay him was five hundred dollars a year. This meager income was eked out by taking boarders. A large house was secured for the bride and groom in Louisburg Square, and the parlors used for meetings. The boarders were members of the Society, and Worcester writes: "By living together we became intimately acquainted and interiorly associated."⁸⁵

In 1822 the Boston Society established the custom of paying tithes, which resulted greatly to the material advantage of the organization and laid the foundations of their future prosperity. The Philadelphians disapproved of this also. The individualistic Mr. Schlatter writes like a modern op-

ponent of the income tax: "What man of sense is going to expose his worldly situation even to New Churchmen, and if he makes a true report, see the consequence,—every man, woman and child in the Society must or can know his exact means. Is this prudent, is this in order in this world or the natural state,—are we sufficiently advanced to bear this? I say not. Some would perhaps pay more than they could afford to for fear of exposing their poverty, and others . . . would even deny the full extent of their income. And the next thing we would have would be censors appointed to examine our books!"⁸⁶

But the most remarkable innovation of that remarkable young man, Thomas Worcester, was his theory of the relation of a pastor to his church. This theory later achieved considerable notoriety in the New Church as the "conjugial heresy," or the "Boston principle." It first appears in a letter dated June, 1820, while he was still a student at Harvard, in which he states that "ordination corresponds to the marriage ceremony," that "the union should be strictly monogamous," and that "dismission corresponds to divorce." Or, stated in Swedenborgian language,—the minister receives truth only in the degree of his own progress in regeneration, and must preach only such truth as he has lived. This truth is "the truth of his good," and the society, when living according to it, becomes "the good of his truth," just as "the husband is the truth of good, and the wife the good of that truth," which makes the marriage relation a symbol of the heavenly union of the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom. Our level-headed William Schlatter at once saw the fatal flaw in the theory. "Unfortunately the young members there," he writes, "have taken up a most erroneous and foolish idea that the minister of a congregation is the husband of the church, and that he must not preach to any other society or else he will commit spiritual adultery. Was there ever anything so absurd, and how contrary to the true spirit of the New Church doctrines, in fact if fully practised it would cut off all missionary services and forever prevent the spreading of truths."⁸⁷ Thomas Worcester himself

twenty-five years later admitted that he no longer held this theory, for permanence is possible to angelic societies, but not on earth where men's characters are changing so rapidly. He said that his aim had been to "prevent ministers from comparing themselves with others, and from endeavouring to excel each other, and thus give them a single eye," and also to "prevent people from comparing their own ministers with others,"—in other words to cultivate between a minister and his congregation an attitude of mutual forbearance and loyalty, "the same as the conjugal relationship."⁸⁸

The young members of the Boston Society had a great deal to say on the subject of "spiritual perceptions" with regard to marital relationships, and developed some remarkable theories. We learn that "Mr. Carll has received a long communication from Mr. and Mrs. Prescott in which they disclose such obscene iniquity as would utterly astonish you. Mr. Thurston and Mrs. Minott are the principal actors. They have expelled Mrs. Prescott from their society. They have asserted that she is living in adultery because her husband is not a member of the New Church." On the subject of remarriage of the widowed they were equally uncompromising. J. H. Wilkins writes: "Whoever would reiterate marriage is restrained from actual polygamy by nothing but popular sentiment and civil law,"—but, strange to relate, in 1826, only a few years later, this stern young gentleman married the widowed Mrs. Minott! "To show you how far this Boston notion can be carried, and the end it would lead to," writes the indignant Schlatter, "I will relate what I heard a gentleman say who was defending it. He said if he were to know or at any time have found out or perceived that he had not got his conjugal partner, he would think it his duty to say, 'My dear,—I will maintain you but I cannot live with you as my wife.' When I heard this I was shocked beyond everything and observed to him the evil consequences of such a false principle. His answer was real Boston, 'We are not to mind consequences.'"⁸⁹ So much for the "flaming youth" of Boston.

Perhaps it would be just as well to discount a good deal

of this criticism which emanated from a hostile quarter, and regard instead some of the Boston Society's very real achievements. In 1827 the little group of only fifty members undertook the publication of the *New Jerusalem Magazine*, edited by Thomas Worcester with the assistance of others of his old Harvard group. The publishing business of John Allen was bought in 1833 by Otis Clapp for the purpose of publishing New Church literature, one of the first ventures being a new translation of (appropriately enough) *Conjugal Love*. The following year the Boston New Church Printing Society was founded for the purpose of bringing out a cheap edition of Swedenborg. In 1837 this concern published the first American edition of the *Arcana Coelestia*, a revision of the latest English edition. It was not long before Boston was the rival of Philadelphia as a center for New Church publication.⁹⁰

Another valuable accomplishment of the Boston Society was in the field of church music. Thomas Worcester writes: "From nearly the beginning of our society we have been in the practice of singing the words of Scripture, and of singing nothing else. The reason of this practice has been the instructions which we have received concerning the nature of the Word in the doctrines of the New Church. We thus learn that by the literal sense of the Word man has conjunction with the Lord and consociation with the angels. . . . The choir was trained to understand and appreciate the meaning of the words which were sung and to become imbued with their spirit. . . ." They chanted, "but slowly, giving each word its full value,—no rushing together or slurring, for that is irreverent to the Word."⁹¹ In the beginning the chants were arranged by T. B. Hayward, but later a highly trained musician, George James Webb, an Englishman, joined the Society. Webb and his nephew, William Mason, a pupil of Liszt, were the founders of the Boston Academy of Music. He evolved a special kind of chant for the New Church which is still much used, and organized the Boston New Church Harmonic Society of fifty members who gave public concerts. The music in the

church was considered especially fine, and many visitors came to hear it. There was a double choir on opposite sides of the gallery singing antiphonally. In the *New Jerusalem Magazine* we read: "Music has begun to receive much attention in the New Church. Its correspondence, use, and influence are subjects of frequent consideration. . . . The physical use of vocal music, or its salutary influence on the bodily health, seems to rest on lungs and heart,—also it reaches the heart and lungs of the soul, and influences the health of the soul correspondingly."⁹²

For a number of years the Boston Society lived a nomadic existence, holding its meetings in various halls,—Boylston Hall, Pantheon Hall, the Atheneum Lecture Hall, and finally its own hall in Phillips' Place built for its use by T. H. Carter. But at last, in 1844, they built their own church in Bowdoin St., a handsome edifice costing \$60,000 and seating a thousand people. It was dedicated in 1845 at the annual meeting of the General Convention.⁹³

In the meantime the New Church was also spreading in other parts of New England. As early as 1792 the doctrines had been introduced in Bath, Maine, by a Baptist minister, Dr. Cummings, and in 1796 Mr. Joseph Leigh of Portsmouth, N. H., began to write about them in the secular papers. In 1805 he began the publication of the *New Hampshire New Jerusalem Magazine*, a short-lived effort. By 1820 there were "small but highly respectable societies" in Bath and Gardiner, Me. An exciting event of the year was the trial of the Rev. Holland Weeks, a popular minister of Abington, Mass. When he began to preach New Church doctrines openly he was tried for heresy and put out of his church. As a result of the interest aroused by the trial several societies were formed,—in Abington, Bridgewater, North Bridgewater (now the Brocton Society), and Elmwood. In 1824 societies were also founded in Yarmouth and Portland.⁹⁴

In 1818 the Rev. Mr. Carll of Philadelphia spoke in the Town Hall at Providence, Rhode Island, before an audience of nearly a thousand, among whom were the student

body of Brown University and the clergy of the town. He was highly gratified by the enthusiastic response, and wrote to Robert Hindmarsh: "From the observations which I have been able to make, I am fully convinced that the people of this section of our beloved country are in a very favorable state for the reception of the heavenly doctrines of the New Jerusalem. Their independence of mind, the state of religious inquiry, and their respect for religious institutions, together with the unsatisfactory nature of the doctrines which have so long prevailed, are circumstances certainly favorable to the reception of a system that courts investigation, and which addresses itself at once to the understanding and the heart of man."⁹⁵ And Mr. Carll has proved a true prophet, for New England soon became, and has remained, the chief stronghold of the New Church in America.

CHAPTER V

BEYOND THE ALLEGHENIES

When the New Church began its westward march over the Alleghenies it encountered a new and very different set of problems from those in the East. James Glen and William Hill had brought their gospel into prosperous and cultured communities. We have seen the rich and colorful picture presented by the New Church in its early days among the descendants of Huguenot nobility and English gentry. From the luxurious libraries of Virginia slave holders and the elegant parlors of rich Philadelphia merchants, to the dignified homes of Beacon Hill, the scene presented everywhere was one of cultivated leisure. The personnel of the early societies was composed mainly of the professional classes,—ministers, doctors, lawyers, schoolmasters, and literary persons. The religious appeal had been to the liberals of the various denominations, who were dissatisfied with the hard and fast theology of the day. Swedenborg, with his philosophical language, his illustrations drawn from a lifetime of scientific studies, and his humane and rational theology, had appeared to them as the herald of a new and more enlightened age. Also he had come with the best of social credentials,—a member of the Swedish House of Nobles, the friend of many a glowing title. All this was appealing in those circles of society in the new republic who referred to the President's wife as *Lady Washington*, and still clung fondly to their own armorial bearings. Democracy was still only "skin deep" in the world's first republic. The methods of propaganda had been distinctly "high-brow" in character: reading circles, study classes, lectures, magazine articles in solemn language, and new translations of the Writings themselves in verbose, Latinized English.

But now, west of the mountains, the "Heavenly Doc-

trines" were confronted with a very different scene,—isolated pioneer cabins, like little islands in a vast sea of forests,—crude frontier towns on the edge of the wilderness,—and everywhere great distances and many hardships. What were the chances for the Lord's New Church in this strange new milieu? Swedenborg himself would certainly have wondered! But those in the East who felt the responsibility for the spread of the church thought them exceedingly good. William Schlatter, who by 1817 had distributed over three thousand books in bales of merchandise, mostly in Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, and Missouri, writes: "I look for a great harvest from that quarter. We may reasonably expect, whenever they do get into an enquiring state, that our doctrines will suit them better than the Old Church, for they are independent, free-minded people, and not disposed to be shackled in religion or politics."¹ It was reported in England that prospects in America were encouraging, especially in the West, and there was much interest among the other denominations, notably the Friends and the Methodists. The English New Churchmen were also much interested in the enterprising methods of propaganda evolved by their American brethren. A gentleman in Washington, it seems, had several hundred copies of Clowes' *Sermon on the Trinity* printed, and gave them to the *National Intelligencer*, a paper with a very wide circulation, to be used as an envelope for the paper. As a result of this the sermon was reprinted in many local newspapers.²

The Philadelphia Society was the center from which the first missionary work emanated. In 1789 Miss Hetty Barclay went to live with her brother in Bedford, Pa., where "by her intellectual and spiritual conversations, and a variety of Swedenborg's works that she took with her, she laid the foundations of a New Church Society which, so long as it existed, had reason to bless her memory." This Bedford Society, organized in 1794, was the first beyond the mountains.³ The first New Church Society in Ohio was founded in 1795 in Steubenville, by William Grant, another of

Francis Bailey's converts. The second, the Cincinnati Society, was founded in 1811 by Adam Hurdus, from Manchester, England, a most interesting character indeed. He had served in the British navy, spent years in a military prison in France, and become a successful merchant. He was led to Swedenborg by reading the slanderous articles in the *Arminian Magazine*, and soon became one of the leaders among the separatists. Hurdus arrived in Cincinnati in 1806, and two years later began to hold services in his home to which he attracted numbers of Indians as well as settlers by means of an organ which he built with his own hands. The Third Ohio Society was founded in Lebanon in 1812 by Thomas Newport, a former member of the Steubenville group.⁴

In 1817 the Philadelphia Society sent their minister, the Rev. Maskell Carll, and Jonathan Condy on a missionary journey through Maryland, Pennsylvania, western Virginia, and Ohio. They were gone thirty-nine days, covering eight hundred miles, and baptized thirty-seven persons. This was the first venture of its kind, and created much interest both in England and America. The following year David Powell and Thomas Newport went on a similar tour in Ohio. They preached to large audiences in eighteen places, including Cleveland, and covered seven hundred miles in six weeks. They reported that the people were "filled with consternation" by the Heavenly Doctrines, but offered no opposition. That same year Thomas Newport organized the Western Association of the New Jerusalem Church, which held its first meeting at Lebanon. This meeting he describes in glowing terms in a letter to Hindmarsh: "At our Association harmony prevailed. . . . The meeting was large and respectable, and held in a handsome grove on my own land. Between two and three hundred persons attended. More interest I never saw, nor better behaviour. The bread and wine were administered to nine persons. The sphere of love was ecstatic, not only with the communicants, but generally with the people. . . . The people are like the ripe harvest."⁵ Some years later, in 1822, the Rev. Holland

Weeks settled near Lake Ontario and held evangelistic meetings with congregations of twelve to fifteen hundred, and that year societies sprung up in Jefferson, Ind., St. Charles, Mo., Knoxville, Tenn., and Louisville, Ky. Other evangelistic journeys followed rapidly,—one by the Rev. Manning Roche of Philadelphia through Pennsylvania and Ohio in 1829, and another by Mr. Carll through western Pennsylvania, western Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky, in 1831.⁶ It is clear that in meeting new conditions the New Church had had to develop a new technique. The most successful religion in this frontier area was the Methodist, and the New Church wisely adopted some of their methods,—the long missionary journeys on horseback through the wilderness, and the camp meeting. Under the stimulus of competition with the evangelical sects the New Church in the Middle West took on a wholly new emotional and evangelistic aspect, better suited to the high-strung pioneer temperament than the intellectualism which prevailed in the Eastern Societies.

But the most picturesque of all these missionary ventures was a wholly unofficial one,—that of the famous “Johnny Appleseed” to whom the Middle West is indebted for thousands of fruit trees. He is a well-known figure in the history of American horticulture, but perhaps it is not so well known that he was, as Miss Silver aptly puts it, “the picturesque sower of two-fold seed.” This strange character was born in Boston in 1775 and christened by the respectable name of Jonathan Chapman. Early in life he was attracted by the wild, free life of the wilderness, and for forty years plied his strange trade of itinerant nurseryman over thousands of miles of territory from the Ohio River to the Great Lakes, and westward from the Alleghenies to Indiana. It is said that the first orchard he planted was on the farm of Isaac Stadden in Licking County, Ohio. He got his seeds from the cider presses of western Pennsylvania, selected fertile places to plant them, and built a fence around to protect the young seedlings. Later he transferred the small trees from these primitive nurseries to the farms of the settlers,

giving them to those who were not able to pay for them. In spite of this generosity he did a good business, and always had money to give to those in need. Another of his benefactions was the rescuing of broken-down horses abandoned by the pioneers in their desperate struggles westward. He gathered them into corrals near the poorer settlements, and paid the settlers to care for them in his absence. Sometimes he traveled by canoe, sometimes on horseback, but more often on foot, carrying his seeds in a leather bag. The settlers thought him half-witted, the children adored him, and the Indians held him in veneration as a mighty medicine man. Like St. Francis he loved all living creatures, and would not injure even a wasp or a snake, in fact, he never carried a rifle. His diet was strictly vegetarian. His appearance is described as "eccentric in the extreme. As an unconscious devotee of 'Lady Poverty' he lacked completely any feeling of sartorial fitness, and was often seen clad simply in an old coffee sack, barefoot, and with a tin pot for headgear."

It is said that he was converted to the New Church by Judge Young of Greensburg, Pa., who kept him supplied with books for his missionary activities. These he separated into chapters which he fastened together in the form of pamphlets. With these in his bag of seeds he traversed the wilderness, a human circulating library, leaving a chapter or two in each cabin, and on his return trip collecting them for redistribution in reverse order. It must have been a somewhat garbled version of the doctrines which the pioneers received. Not only did he distribute literature, but also preached and read to fascinated groups around blazing hearthfires. It is a little difficult to estimate the results of this eccentric evangelism, but it is a fact that by means of it the writings of Swedenborg were widely disseminated on the outskirts of civilization, and many isolated families accepted New Church teaching before they came in contact with the organized church. As Ohio became more thickly settled Johnny Appleseed pressed on into Indiana, always keeping ahead of the settlements, and there he died, all alone.

outside a frontier cabin near Fort Wayne, at the age of seventy-two. Bayley ends his account of him in *New Church Worthies*: "Now no man knoweth of his sepulchre, but his deeds will live forever in the fragrance of the appleblossoms he loved so well." As a matter of fact, his grave has since been discovered and marked with a monument for the edifying of future generations. Vachel Lindsay pays his tribute thus: "He was the New England kind of saint, much like a Hindu saint, akin to Thoreau and Emerson who came after him. . . . He preached Swedenborg to the Indian witch doctors in his youth, and in his old age to the Disciple preachers, and other stubborn souls on the frontier. . . . And he kept moving for a lifetime toward the sunset, on what we would call 'The Mystical Johnny Appleseed Highway,' leaving in his wake orchards bursting and foaming with rich fruit, gifts for mankind to find long after."⁸

There were other picturesque developments in connection with the New Church in the Middle West. In 1824 a colony of several hundred Swiss immigrants was established on a tract of several thousand acres in Athens County, Ohio, by Baron Steiger, the son of Napoleon's General of that name. While in Philadelphia making arrangements for his new colony, the Baron became acquainted with some of the New Churchmen there, and was converted. Later he wrote to ask for a New Church chaplain. "I have formed a new settlement of Swiss emigrants," he writes, "and I shall admit no other than sober, orderly and well-disposed people. All these I intend to introduce to the New Jerusalem. For this purpose I have concluded to erect a place of worship on my ground." With the letter came a declaration of belief in the doctrines of the New Church signed by twenty-one of the colonists. Daniel Thuun of the Philadelphia Society accepted the Baron's invitation, and went out to "Steiger's Rest" as chaplain. After the Baron's death at a ripe old age, the colonists dispersed.⁹

Cincinnati soon became the center for New Church activities in the Middle West. The society, organized in 1811 with seventeen or eighteen members, grew rapidly. The

"Rules for the Government of the Society" required re-baptism for membership, but this was later amended "if requested by the applicant." In 1816 Adam Hurdus, its founder, went to Baltimore to be ordained by John Hargrove. A strange custom developed of holding three services on Sunday, each in charge of a different preacher. Mr. Hurdus was the only ordained minister, the other two being lay preachers.¹⁰ All went smoothly for a number of years, but in 1822 a strong anti-clerical sentiment began to develop among some of the younger members. This group of recalcitrant young men objected to the authority of the priesthood in general and to that of Mr. Hurdus in particular. Our never-failing source of "inside information," William Schlatte, writes concerning this painful turn of events: "I am sorry to inform you an evil has also shown itself in the Cincinnati Society. . . . Mr. Roe and they (the five Smith brothers) say that ordination is not necessary; . . . that baptism is useless and our Lord did not enjoin it; . . . that no one ought to be called Reverend. . . . One of the Mr. Smiths was lately married by Mr. Roe in his capacity as a magistrate, when there was a regular ordained New Church clergyman to marry them, showing evidently that they looked on marriage as a civil contract. Mr. Hurdus preached about marriage by a magistrate; this gave Mr. Roe and the Messrs. Smith offence. They called a meeting to pass a by-law appointing Mr. Roe their preacher in place of Mr. Hurdus. Thus they are setting up a sect and going contrary to all New Church societies in the United States. . . . How distressing it is to think that heresy and schism should so soon creep into the Lord's own New Jerusalem. How weak and frail we mortally are."¹¹ The West had already begun to sow its wild oats.

However the Cincinnati Society seems to have weathered this little tempest successfully, for Mr. Hurdus remained at his post, and things went on as before. But now Mr. Daniel Roe went from anti-clericalism into socialism, taking a number of the other members with him. When Robert Owen came to America in 1824 for the purpose of establishing so-

cialistic communities one of the first friends he made was Daniel Roe. He lectured in Cincinnati and made the acquaintance of the New Church people there in whom he found congenial spirits. "The Society was composed of a very superior class of people. They were intelligent, liberal, generous, cultivated men and women,—many of them wealthy and highly educated. They were apparently the best possible material to organize and sustain a Community such as Owen proposed. Mr. Roe and many of his congregation soon became fascinated with Owen and his Communism, and together with others in the city and elsewhere organized a Community and furnished the means for purchasing an appropriate site for its location." The site selected was a place called Yellow Springs, about seventy-five miles from Cincinnati, the present site of Antioch College. The community consisted of seventy-five to a hundred families, and included professional men, teachers, merchants, mechanics, farmers, and a few common laborers. "Men who seldom or never before labored with their hands, devoted themselves to agriculture and the mechanical arts with a zeal which was at least commendable, though not always according to knowledge. Ministers of the Gospel guided the plough, called the swine to their corn instead of sinners to repentance, and let patience have her perfect work over an unruly pair of oxen. Merchants exchanged the yard stick for the rake or pitchfork, and all appeared to labor cheerfully for the common weal. Among the women there was even more apparent self-sacrifice. Ladies who had seldom seen the inside of their own kitchens, went into that of the common eating house, formerly a hotel, and made themselves useful among pots and kettles; and refined young ladies, who had all their lives been waited upon, took their turns in waiting upon others at table. And several times a week, all parties who chose, mingled in the social dance in the great dining hall." But, alas,—self-love soon entered in, individualism reappeared, and the absolute democracy which prevailed became irksome to some of those of the upper class, especially the ladies. Daniel Roe was the last

to give up. But in less than a year all had returned to their homes and professions, sadder and wiser no doubt. After the failure at Yellow Springs Roe went to New Harmony, saw that that too was not a success, and returned home.¹² Noyes, in his *History of American Socialisms*, remarks on the fact that "the beginning of the Owenite movement in this country was signalized by a conjunction with Swedenborgianism,"¹³ and it is undoubtedly true that a considerable number of New Churchmen were deeply interested in it.

In 1825 some of the members of the Cincinnati New Church founded a Theosophic Society for the purpose of studying the doctrines and other subjects of interest from a New Church point of view. The membership was limited to twelve. They met once a week for eight or ten years, and exerted a great influence on the church in that section. In time however they "departed materially from the first rules or landmarks," became mainly social, and finally disbanded in 1849. A Printing Society was formed in 1828, which began its useful career with the publication of Robert Hindmarsh's *Compendium of the True Christian Religion*.¹⁴ There were also six periodicals published in Cincinnati between the years 1825 and 1860: The *Herald of Truth*, edited by the Rev. Nathaniel Holley, 1825-1826, which failed after fourteen months; the *Precursor*, edited by Richard DeCharms from 1836 to 1842; The *Retina*, with W. C. Howells (father of William D. Howells the author), as editor; the *Mirror of Truth*, edited by Adam Hawarth; the *New Church Messenger*, edited by David Powell and J. P. Stuart from 1853-1854; and the *New Church Herald*, by the Rev. Sabin Hough.¹⁵ It would be hard to say why all these literary ventures which were begun with so much enthusiasm came to such sudden ends. Education was also a matter of great interest to the Cincinnati Society. In 1832 the first New Church Sunday School in America was opened there by Milo G. Williams. At first there was much opposition on the ground that it would "interfere with the spiritual freedom of the children." In 1840 Mr. Williams added a New Church Day School in a building next to the

Temple. This was in successful operation for four years.¹⁶

Another violent anti-clerical movement now arose under the leadership of Alexander Kinmont, who in 1836 founded a Second Society which met in his schoolhouse until his death in 1838. It is stated that the meetings were "attended with increasing interest especially by young men, whose affections were expanding with the sweet charities of the Christian religion, while their judgments were repulsed by the dogmas of sectarian votaries."¹⁷ Kinmont was undoubtedly an unusual man. He had studied theology at the University of Edinburgh, but had come out after three years a complete skeptic instead of a Presbyterian. He came to America in 1823 as principal of the Academy at Bedford, Pa. There he was converted to the New Church, married a daughter of Francis Bailey, and went to Cincinnati to establish a school according to his own theories of education. He was opposed to the wholesale method then in vogue and believed that each student should be treated as a unit. He was also author of a book, *Twelve Lectures on the Natural History of Man, and the Rise and Progress of Philosophy*. The first volume of the *Precursor* contains a series of articles by him against the rule of the church by the clergy. "It may be said the clergy have the most wisdom. They have the most *oral* wisdom, but have they always the most *perceptive* wisdom?" he pertinently asks.¹⁸

The second important New Church center in the Middle West was Chicago. In 1835 a young Maine farmer, educated in the law, by the name of Jonathan Young Scammon, arrived in the raw frontier town which was the Chicago of a hundred years ago. He secured a position as assistant to the clerk of the courts of Cook County, and in time became one of the most prominent builders of the new metropolis. He practiced law until 1847, and then became identified with large business interests. As president of the Chicago Marine and Fire Insurance Co. and of the Marine Bank, as member of the state legislature, as one of the organizers of the Chicago Academy of Sciences, the Historical Society, and the University of Chicago, he helped to build not only

the material prosperity, but also the cultural life of the city. He was also a noted philanthropist. He gave the property for the Hahnemann Hospital, and \$30,000 for the Dearborn Observatory. But at fifty-nine, in the hightide of his prosperity, he was ruined by the fires of 1871 and 1874 and the intervening panic, and died a poor man. But not the least of his achievements was the founding of the Chicago New Church. His first convert was Vincent Lovell, a young leather merchant, who together with Scammon and his wife constituted a society of three members in 1843. By 1849 the group had increased sufficiently to organize as a church body, with twenty-two members.¹⁹

John Randolph Hibbard, who was the first minister of the new Society, while working as a missionary for the United Brethren in Ohio, had come across a copy of the *True Christian Religion* in a pioneer's cabin (perhaps one of Johnny Appleseed's), and was forthwith converted. He remained in the Chicago Church twenty-eight years, and much of its early history is told in his *Reminiscences of a Pioneer*, published from time to time in the *New Jerusalem Messenger*. The Chicago Society was characterized by progressiveness and independence. In the fifties some of its women members adopted the bloomer fad, and a carefully prepared debate on "Bloomer Costume versus Draggled Skirts" resulted in a vote in favor of the new attire. We learn with regret, however, that most of the ladies lost their nerve when it came to the point of action. Dancing parties were popular in the New Church in the fifties, to "afford for the young an opportunity for social intercourse under the protection and sphere of the Church." On Wednesday evenings there was a short service followed by dancing. A Baptist revivalist nearby said that those who attended were on the road to hell, but nevertheless, a number of Baptist young men persisted in attending. The Society continued to grow and prosper, and in 1861 they had one hundred and twenty-nine members and a new Temple.²⁰

The new doctrines spread also in other parts of the state, and in 1839 an Illinois Association of the New Church was

organized. A great deal of missionary work was done by Hibbard on horseback tours through the state. Springfield also had a number of New Church families from early days. I. S. Britton, State Superintendent of Schools, was a New Churchman, and a close friend of Abraham Lincoln to whom he introduced the writings of Swedenborg in 1842. Vachel Lindsay, a native of Springfield, speaks of how strong an influence what he calls "the exquisite sharp-edged Swedenborgian culture" has had on the intellectual life of the Middle West. He says that "Springfield, without knowing it, was 'brought up a Swedenborgian.'" ²¹

The most interesting account of the growth of the New Church in this section of the country is found in the Rev. George Field's *Memoirs, Incidents, and Reminiscences of the Early History of the New Church in Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Adjacent States and Canada*,—a highly-colored record of life in a strange epoch. Field, who had been a lay reader in the English New Church, moved to Detroit in 1838, and opened a school, teaching being his profession. There were at that time about six "receivers" of the doctrines in the state of Michigan. Field began at once to lecture on Swedenborg in his school, and succeeded in organizing a Society of seven members. This increased rapidly to the number of forty-seven, and then evaporated to nothing by 1840, due to the fact that they had all moved away. Such was life in those fluid days. Nothing daunted, Field again "took the stump." He conducted a six evening debate at Battle Creek against two Methodist ministers, a doctor, a judge, and a justice of the peace, on the subject: "Do the first chapters of Genesis treat of the creation of the physical earth?" Fired with missionary zeal he gave up his school and went on a lecture tour to find whatever New Church people there might be scattered over the state of Michigan, supporting himself en route by giving lessons in shorthand and penmanship. Debates were at that time the "favorite indoor sport," and Field tells of one he held with a Presbyterian minister which lasted from 9 A.M. on Tuesday to 9 P.M. Wednesday, before an audience of from three to five

hundred. And the very next evening he gave a three hour lecture on the credibility of Swedenborg to an audience of five hundred. This was at Goshen, Mich., in 1842. The following year he traveled as far south as St. Louis, where he formed a society of eight members, not New Church people, who organized a circulating library for the study of Swedenborg, and met once a week for discussion.²²

Field then accepted a call from the Michigan and Northern Indiana Association as missionary minister, with a territory extending three hundred miles from east to west, and went to Cincinnati for ordination. But the following year he was obliged to give up for lack of adequate support, and reopen his school in Detroit, where he lectured and conducted Sunday services. In 1844 he gave the following remarkable course of lectures in the U. S. Court Room:

"Lecture first: Primeval language. The nature and laws of the God-given tongue. Tacit, vocal, and written speech.

Lecture second: Origin of Mythology, Astrology, and the signs in the heavens; and the symbolic style prior to the days of Abraham.

Lecture third: Proofs, rational and inductive, and philosophical, that the first chapters of Genesis do not and are not intended to treat of the Creation and destruction of the material earth.

Lecture fourth: On the Creation of the Universe; more particularly of our Earth, and the Solar System.

Lecture fifth: The true meaning of the first chapter of Genesis.

Lecture sixth: The laws of Creation, and Spiritual influx. Primeval formations in the Vegetable and Animal Kingdoms. The *first man*.

Lecture seventh: The second chapter of Genesis. What it does not mean, and what it does. The Garden of Eden, Rivers, Trees, Serpent, Adam, Eve, etc.

Lecture eighth: The Flood, Proof absolute that no such Flood as is recorded in Genesis, ever literally oc-

curred on the earth, or could have occurred,—examined on its own authority; rationally, philosophically, and geologically.

Lecture ninth: What is the meaning of the inundation of the earth, on the accepted canon of the Scriptures being their own interpreter.

Lecture tenth: The standing still of the Sun and Moon, at the command of Joshua.

Lecture eleventh: On Miracles, Magic, Incantation, Sorcery, Witchcraft, and Animal Magnetism.

Lecture twelfth: On the Miracles of Egypt, and why the Egyptians could not turn the dust into lice, when yet they performed all the preceding miracles of Moses and Aaron.”²³

It is small wonder that the orthodox ministers now rose in wrath against the new heterodoxy. Also the New Church had by now become sufficiently successful to arouse jealousy. In 1847 Field was elected chaplain to the State Senate, a highly coveted honor. By this time there were so many prominent New Churchmen in Michigan, that Swedenborgianism was often spoken of as “the state religion.” Among these were, the Rev. H. N. Strong, chaplain of the State Penitentiary; E. D. Ladd, head of the only telegraph line; R. H. Murray and Hans Thillson, head civil engineers of the Michigan Central, and the Hon. Lucius Lyon, Assistant Surveyor General of the United States in charge of the Northwest. The most important, however, was Judge Abiel Silver, Registrar of the Land Office, who was the moving spirit in the organization of the Michigan and Northern Indiana Association in 1843. Judge Silver, originally an Episcopalian, had been converted by the amputation of an arm. The fact that he continued to feel the presence of the arm convinced him of the reality of the spiritual body of which Swedenborg speaks. He visited hospitals and talked with maimed war veterans on the subject, and wrote a *Tract for the Soldiers*, 5,000 copies of which were distributed in Canada after the Indian uprising of 1886. At the age of

fifty-two he was ordained into the ministry of the New Church.²⁴

There now began a series of virulent attacks upon the New Church by ministers of other denominations. The Rev. H. L. Hammond of the Congregational Church of Detroit discovered *Conjugial Love*. "As I turned over the polluted pages," he writes, "I was often reminded of the words of another; I have touched pitch and am defiled! The moral influence of these treatises cannot but be mischievous in the extreme." Field also had trouble with the Methodists "who used every possible means to prevent their members from attending [his lectures], . . . one of their ministers and some of their leading members, male and female, as I was credibly informed, standing in the street, within a few rods of the school house where I lectured, to arrest any of their flock should they be bold enough to go and hear me." In those days it was *religious* conflict which was serious enough to produce "picketing." On a lecture tour in Illinois he came into conflict with the intelligentsia. He writes of it to the *New Jerusalem Magazine*: "I should say that Jacksonville is considered as a decidedly religious place, as also of literary reputation. For a population of little more than two thousand, there are two Presbyterian churches,—a Congregational, a Methodist, Episcopalian, Baptist, Campbellite, etc." In this pious town he was attacked by the Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres at Illinois College, who gave two lectures, referring to Swedenborgianism as "a subversion of everything decent and sensible,—a grotesque and upheaving system which brings fires of desolation, and exterminates the idea of God's omnipotence,"—and to Swedenborg himself as "a learned fool,—an amiable and devout religious maniac." The dauntless Field rose like a hero to the challenge. "I resolved with the Lord for my helper to meet this haughty philistine, and with a smooth stone from the brook to smite him on the forehead. I accordingly gave notice that I would give two lectures in the Court House in reply to those of Professor Turner. The house every evening was densely crowded, and Mr. Turner was universally

'allowed' to be, in Western phraseology 'a used up man.' He never spake again, but was as a dead man." Concerning this orthodox opposition, Field remarks, "There is one thing that is a matter of some astonishment to us, and that is, that the preachers of the Gospel and the believers in the Mosaic account of the creation, in this vicinity, should take alarm at the promulgation of these views. . . . Does the evidence of the truth of that account rest upon such a doubtful basis, that it will not stand the test of human scrutiny? Do those gentlemen in their fanaticism and tyranny intend to gag this community and smother investigation? . . . It is a poor compliment upon their creeds and systems of religion that they fear to have them examined and compared with any other system."²⁵

Besides attacks from without, the Michigan Association had its share of troubles within the fold. At the 1849 meeting party feeling began to develop, the report of the Committee on Licenses and Lectures being the bone of contention. The majority of the committee were strongly anti-clerical, and completely opposed to an ordained clergy. Field presented a minority report. At this critical juncture a novel resolution was offered, namely, that the *ladies* be allowed to vote on the issue. This was not customary, but there was nothing against it in the constitution so the ladies voted. The report was referred back to the committee for further consideration, but was passed unanimously the following year. Michigan had gone anti-clerical.²⁶ Another difficulty now arose in the form of spiritualism. The Rev. Henry Weller, pastor of the Grand Rapids Society, claimed to be in personal communication with Swedenborg, and began to call himself the Lord's High Priest. He gathered a small group of followers and introduced "the spiritual wife system" among them. He and his followers sought intercourse with spirits. The Michigan Association repudiated this movement and dismissed its leader. Weller then moved to La Porte, Ind., and founded another Society. He also began the publication of a Swedenborgian-Spiritualistic magazine, *The Crisis*, "edited by Henry Weller, President of

the Society of the Lord's Church, La Porte, Ind. Devoted to the inner life of the New Church." The first number commences with this statement: "The events of the past two years have indeed brought a *crisis* upon the whole religious community. . . . We hold it an established fact that this world is now subject to continual, direct, open visitations from the Spiritual World. . . . Moreover we assume the fact also, that these manifestations have been instrumental in bringing a crisis on the Church, . . . breaking up all the theologies of the day, . . . and threatening the destruction of all Church organizations. . . . In the last month of the past year commenced upon ourselves a series of spiritual visions of a most extraordinary character.—etc." Later in his life Mr. Weller renounced spiritualism, and his flock came into the orthodox New Church fold in 1859.²⁷

In 1849 Field accepted a call from the Illinois Association as a missionary pastor. He reported 124 lectures in 17 places in his first eight months, and told a harrowing story of his dangers and hardships. "Twice I had to get other horses to haul my buggy from bottomless mud holes; once nearly drowned in fording the rapid and deep Vermilion, swollen by heavy rains; once to pass through a wide lagoon of water four feet deep, and cross a bridge under it, sometimes drenched through with rain, and no help for it; at other times frozen with a bitter northwest wind, blowing like a hurricane over a prairie where for miles, neither house, fence, or tree could be seen; crossing rivers when only half frozen, between great holes in the ice, and riding after dark in the open prairie, and guessing at the road in the depth of winter." It is a melancholy comment on the Christian charity of the Illinois Association that they refused to reimburse Field for an extra hundred dollars of his own money which he had been obliged to spend in addition to his munificent salary of three hundred a year, most of which had gone for the support of his family. They voted instead to send the hundred dollars to Germany and France for the dissemination of the Heavenly Doctrines. Stung by this ingratitude,

Field resigned, and returned to the pastorate of the Detroit Society.²⁸

Thanks to all this self-sacrificing and earnest effort on the part of its early missionaries, the Middle West is one of the strongest centers of the New Church, ranking second only to New England.

CHAPTER VI

THE INTELLECTUAL ENVIRONMENT

The relation of the new religion to the intellectual environment in which it found itself is one of special interest. A letter from an English New Churchman on a visit to America in 1843 describes the special characteristics of the American Church thus: "One is, that its members have generally adopted the temperance plan of abstaining from alcoholic drinks. Another is that the Homeopathic System of Medicine is much in favor amongst them, and is adopted to a great extent. Another, that they cherish, as a religious denomination, a more exclusive spirit, or, as they themselves would perhaps term it, assume a greater distinctiveness, than is done by their brethren in Britain. Again, their ministers or pastors have more external authority than ministers have in England, while the laity are in a more passive state."¹ Accepting this as probably a fair picture of the New Church in the forties, let us now see what were its reactions to the movements and tendencies in the world around it, and what was its influence upon these movements. It was a strange world, America in the forties, full of new ideas and enthusiasms. As Emerson wrote to Carlyle: "We are all a little wild here, with numberless projects of social reform. Not a reading man but has a draft of a new community in his waist-coat pocket."² What was the attitude of the New Church toward these "projects,"—shall we find it radical or conservative? The connection between such diverse movements as Homeopathy and Fourierism may seem to us a trifle remote, but in the *Harbinger*, the Brook Farm periodical, we find them linked thus strangely: "As regards Homeopathy, Magnetism, the Phalanstery, Jacotism, Phrenology, all fragments of the same whole, off-sets of the same idea, man would see the fruitful unity from which they flow."³ Just

what was the relation of this "fruitful unity" to Swedenborgianism we shall attempt to discover.

The first of these "isms" to become connected with the New Church was Magnetism, or Mesmerism, along with its companion and successor, Spiritualism. We have already seen how the Exegetic-Philanthropic Society of Stockholm was wrecked by its interest in the phenomena of magnetism; how the New Church in Germany was injured by the spiritualistic experiments of Hofaker and his followers; and how these dangerous practices were introduced to English New Churchmen by Count Grabianka of the Avignon Académie des Illuminés. We have also seen how the practice of magnetism caused dissension in Robert Carter's Baltimore Society, and how disastrous the "New Era Movement" had proved to the New York Society. But these developments were only a beginning, and the end was far off. Podmore says: "Animal magnetism became the fertile matrix from which sprung all the shadowy brood of latter-day mysticisms,—Spiritualism, Theosophy, the New Thought, culminating in the Christian Science of Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy."⁴ In 1833 the *New Jerusalem Magazine* published an article on "Somnambulism and Animal Magnetism," in which they were described as being of particular interest to receivers of New Church doctrine. "We do not mean by this remark to express our approbation of the practice of the magnetizers, and much less to intimate that there is any connection between these practices and the doctrines and truths of the New Church."⁵ But nevertheless the connection *did* exist in the minds of many New Church people. Mrs. Ogden, in her *Reasons for Joining the New Church*, states that experience and study of Mesmerism led to her conversion to the New Church. In 1839 she was mesmerized by a relative, after which she went to public demonstrations, and experimented herself on a younger sister. When she found an explanation of such states in Swedenborg she accepted his doctrines readily.⁶ Mrs. Anna Cora Mowatt, a well-known actress, and author of *Fashion*, a famous early American comedy, wrote of her friend, Professor George Bush, "Our

household chanced to be equally interested in the discovery of magnetism, and I think it was through this gate that he entered (as we did) into the 'City of the New Jerusalem.' ”⁷ And the Hon. Lucius Lyon, United States Senator from Michigan, wrote to Bush: "In looking back on my own state of mind five years ago, I do not see how I could ever have been brought to recognize and acknowledge the psychological truths given to the world by Swedenborg, but for the confirmation afforded by the phenomenon of Mesmerism; and of the fifty or sixty persons with whom I have been personally acquainted, in this and other States of the Union who have since that period embraced the heavenly doctrines, there is not one who has not been more or less aided in the same way. I speak of facts within my knowledge."⁸ It is of the Middle West of which Lyon speaks, and we have also evidence of difficulty met with by the Rev. George Field in his missionary tours in that section in attempting to compete with the popular lecturers on Mesmerism. Altogether there is little doubt that Mesmerism contributed greatly to the growth of the New Church at that time, and the connection between the two, denied by the *New Jerusalem Magazine*, was affirmed by the *Harbinger* with equal definiteness: "We now meet with a very significant fact, and one which has a direct relation with the mystic revelations of Swedenborg. If man is not alone material he must have some means of placing himself in relation with that more noble part of himself which escapes the conditions of our order of things. It is precisely this which takes place in the practice of Animal Magnetism."⁹

The history of Spiritualism in America is generally assumed to have begun with "Rochester rappings" in 1848, but spiritualistic phenomena are mentioned in New Church writings much earlier. In 1818 William Schlatter replied to a letter from John Burt thus: "I can safely say I was delighted and astonished at the contents. I never knew any person but Emanuel Swedenborg who had their spiritual eyes opened in the manner you relate, but I can believe it. . . . Do if possible obtain from his own notes the particulars and

send them to me. . . . Do lend him the book on Heaven and Hell. He is in a fit state to read it and it may confirm him in the doctrine of the New Church.”¹⁰ As early as 1845 the *New Jerusalem Magazine* printed a series of articles on “Open Intercourse with the Spiritual World,”—its dangers and the precautions which they naturally suggest, by the Rev. B. F. Barrett,¹¹ from which it is a fairly easy inference that Spiritualism was not altogether unknown in New Church circles at that time. When the Rochester rappings caused such a furor, the *Medium*, a Michigan New Church periodical, said: “They must come from the Spiritual world, and it seems to us they must come from evil spirits. At least the suggestion of the *New York Tribune*, that it is very stupid business for spirits to be engaged in, is worthy of consideration.”¹² In 1851 the *Medium* makes the statement that the great majority of the New Church fully acknowledge their belief in spiritualistic manifestations.¹³ But though this was probably true, it does not mean that they were actively engaged in spiritualistic practices,—in fact, quite the contrary,—the majority of New Churchmen have always heeded Swedenborg’s warnings concerning the dangers of intercourse with spirits, and the Church has officially kept coldly aloof from Spiritualism.

But the Spiritualists’ side of the story is a very different one. They claim Swedenborg as the *first* Spiritualist, that is, the first to have communications with departed souls,¹⁴ and much of their belief concerning the kind of future life to look forward to after death comes directly from *Heaven and Hell*. A number of the early Spiritualists claimed to have communications from Swedenborg, an amusing instance being that of Dr. Edward Dexter, who on April 4, 1853, received a message beginning: “In the name of God, I am Sweedenborg”¹⁵ (proving perhaps that spelling is a lost art in the spiritual world). But the two most important links between Swedenborgianism and Spiritualism were Andrew Jackson Davis, the Poughkeepsie cobbler, and Thomas Lake Harris, founder of the Brotherhood of the New Life.

The connection between Davis and the Swedenborgians

seems to have come about through the instrumentality of Professor George Bush, professor of Hebrew at New York University, and later leader of the New York Society of the New Church. It was his interest in Mesmerism, as we have seen, which brought Bush into the New Church, and now he thought he saw in Davis's hypnotic states a confirmation of his theories. In his *Memoirs* Professor Bush says: "And here I am constrained by fealty to truth, to acknowledge that the circumstances of my being brought, about that time, into contact with the phenomena of Mesmerism had a most decided bearing upon the progress of my convictions, nor do I scruple to say that in all probability I should never have come to the position I now occupy had it not been for the overwhelming evidence of truth derived from this source. . . . The laws which Swedenborg lays down in regard to mental intercourse between spirits, are precisely the laws which are developed in the mesmeric manifestation."¹⁶ In 1847 Bush brought out his book, *Mesmer and Swedenborg*, his object being "to elevate the phenomena of Mesmerism to a higher plane than that on which they had been wont to be contemplated."¹⁷ In the Preface he states that "the fundamental ground assumed is, that the most important facts disclosed in the Mesmeric state are of a spiritual nature, and can only receive an adequate solution by being viewed in connection with the state of disembodied spirits and the laws of their intercourse with each other. Swedenborg says that man in this world is a spirit clothed with a body,—that in his interior principles he is so constituted as to be even now a denizen of the spiritual world and constantly associated with kindred spirits."—He goes on to say that "many or most of the phenomena of Mesmerism may be resolved into the constitution of the nervous system," and that "the physical manifestations depend on physical laws." Swedenborg has shown the true relation between the spiritual and the physical, and Mesmerism is a complete proof of the truth of his experiences in the spiritual world. But Swedenborg was not a "self-mesmerized clairvoyant," as he has been called to undermine his authority, for he was never uncon-

scious, but in a state of external and internal consciousness at the same time. In the *Arcana Coelestia* (nos. 1882-1885) he describes the two kinds of visions; the first, being taken out of the body which is left in a state of trance, which he experienced only three or four times, and the second, seeing into the spiritual world while in a state of complete external consciousness.¹⁸

In Appendix A of this book Bush deals with "The Revelations of Andrew Jackson Davis." He seems to be thoroughly convinced of that young man's entire genuineness. He says that he is a shoemaker's apprentice, about twenty years of age, "guileless and unsophisticated," who never had more than five months' schooling in his life. He received a communication from Swedenborg, of whom at the time he had never even heard, which prompted him to give a course of lectures on scientific subjects, about which he knew nothing, Cosmology, Ethnology, Astronomy, Geology, and Physics. These lectures were given in a mesmerized state, under the control apparently of learned spirits on the other side.¹⁹ Davis's own description of this occurrence is illuminating. He states that it happened *after* a visit from Professor Bush in New York. (*Was* he then entirely ignorant of such a person as Swedenborg? It seems unlikely after a visit from so well-known and enthusiastic a Swedenborgian.) At any rate, soon afterwards he received this message: "Seek-the mountains. A-person-desires-thy presence-there. Do-not delay." So he crossed the river at Poughkeepsie to the mountain retreat which he used for a spirit *rendez-vous*. There the "person" (presumably Swedenborg) met him, requested him to write to Professor Bush, and dictated to him the letters A.C. and some numbers. All of this happened while Davis was in a trance, and when he came to himself he was completely puzzled by what he had written. However he did write to Bush of the occurrence, enclosing the paper,²⁰ which Bush recognized as references to passages in the *Arcana Coelestia*. He was completely convinced of the genuineness of Davis's mediumship, though somewhat doubtful of the actual identity of the spirit whom Davis thought

was Swedenborg. He did admit, however, that Davis's claims rested entirely on his veracity, as there was no way of proving whether or not he had ever seen the *Arcana Coelestia*.²¹ But Bush testified emphatically that while in a trance Davis was able to quote pages of Swedenborg almost verbatim, as well as Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, of which he was actually entirely ignorant. He also used technical scientific terms correctly, which in his normal state he could not even pronounce. "I can moreover testify that in these Lectures he has discussed, with the most signal ability, the profoundest questions of History, and Biblical Archeology, of Mythology, of the Origin and Affinities of Language, of the Progress of Civilization among the different nations of the globe. He could not have acquired so much information in a whole life of study, much less in the two years since he left the shoemaker's bench."²²

In 1847 Davis published his book, *The Principles of Nature, Her Divine Revelations, and a Voice to Mankind*, which was accepted as genuine largely on the strength of Bush's testimony concerning its author. The book contains the doctrine of the Grand Man, the Science of Correspondences, and the relation between the World of Spirit and the World of Matter in strictly Swedenborgian terms,—Bush says of it: "The coincidences with the *Arcana Coelestia* are all but absolutely verbal."²³ But unfortunately for Bush, the theology of the book was Swedenborgian only in spots,—the rest of it was extremely unorthodox. The Professor now had to "back water." He wrote to a friend thus: "Davis's book has just appeared and the world is calling for it with a rush. In point of talent and scientific mind it far transcends my most sanguine expectations, but in the theological department it is absolutely *destructive*. It turns the Ark and the Cherubim out of the sanctuary by denying the divinity and true inspiration of the Word, and by representing Christ as merely a great Social Reformer, though the most perfect type of humanity. This work is calculated to do mischief to certain minds, but I am greatly reconciled to its appearance from the fact that it involves a psychological problem which

nothing but Swedenborg's disclosures can solve. I take the ground that if Davis's book is *genuine* it claims justly all the notice and notoriety I have given it as a psychological marvel calculated, and in Providence probably designed to explode the prevailing notions respecting the necessarily *truthful* character of everything emanating from the spiritual world.”²⁴

The *New Jerusalem Magazine*, however, was not able to view the affair so philosophically. “The contents of Davis's book affect us painfully, and fully justify the deep regret we felt, that through the writings of Professor Bush, so much currency has been given to the opinion, that these lectures of Davis had some important connection with the writings of Swedenborg. . . . The miraculous conception a fable,—sin merely a misdirection of man's powers,—miracles derided, etc. These things and things like these, some of them of the most gross and blasphemous character, meet one on looking through the volume, and render it impossible for receivers of the Heavenly Doctrines to regard it with any kind of toleration.”²⁵ The unfortunate Professor now attempted to reinstate himself in the good graces of the Church by writing, in collaboration with Barrett, an avowed enemy of Spiritualism, *Davis's Revelations Revealed* in which he admitted that in Davis he had warmed a viper. “We feel gratified,” comments the *New Jerusalem Magazine*, “that Professor Bush has not only opened his eyes to the monstrous errors of Davis, but also that he does not hesitate to declare that book to be wholly unworthy of any confidence whatever. Swedenborg has unfolded the true nature of Davis's delusions. The author must have been, some of the time at least, under the influence of spirits from beneath.”²⁶

The next unfortunate connection with Spiritualism came through Thomas Lake Harris. This strange man first appears in 1844 as the pastor of the Fourth Universalist Church in New York City, from which he separated in 1848 to form the Independent Christian Congregation. He was deeply impressed with the writings of Andrew Jackson Davis, though he perceived their inconsistencies, and deeply

regretted his lack of "the reception of revelation and a personal God." Through them he became interested in Swedenborg, and later developed a keen enthusiasm for the economic teachings of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier.²⁷ In 1850 he united with the Rev. James Scott in an attempt to found a spiritualistic community on the newly-discovered site of the Garden of Eden at Mountain Cove, Va. The two leaders soon quarreled, and Harris returned to New York where he became the leader of the "Christian Spiritualists."²⁸ The Church of the Good Shepherd, of which he was pastor, had no connection whatever with the official New Church, though its theology was based on Swedenborg,—with spiritualistic variations. Harris now began to write voluminously of his spiritualistic experiences. In *The Wisdom of the Ages* he tells of seeing Socrates and Swedenborg in heaven, and in *The Lyric of the Morning Land* he introduces his doctrine of "counterparts," which seems to be a variation of Swedenborg's "conjugial pairs." In Harris's theory, however, the spiritual counterpart is not another human soul on earth, but the female half of divinity itself with whom the human soul becomes united, or, as he expresses it: "Two-in-one-ness between wifehood (Lily Queen) in heaven and husbandhood on earth." His doctrine of "internal respiration" was certainly derived from Swedenborg. "I inhale with equal ease," he modestly admits, "the atmosphere of either of the three heavens."²⁹

Harris and his church considered themselves Swedenborgians, though the New Church had no contacts with them. They took the non-sectarian view of the New Church, as expressed on the cover of their periodical, *The Herald of Light*: "The New Church is the body of Christ, including within itself the good of every sect and persuasion throughout the world, excluding none."³⁰ This magazine was published by a "New Church Publishing Association" of the existence of which the *Messenger* in 1858 denies all knowledge.³¹ In a review of Harris's magazine the *Messenger* says: "Many leading Spiritualists are acquainted with the writings of Swedenborg; and the editor of this work has evi-

dently read some of them with attention and made himself familiar, by this means, with the laws of the spiritual world. He also, apparently, accepts them to a certain extent. We say 'to a certain extent,' because he evidently does not accept what Swedenborg has said against being *taught* by spirits, and concerning the great danger and destructiveness of open intercourse with the spiritual world, especially when it is sought after. . . . We have thought it proper to speak at some length of the periodical whose title stands at the head of these remarks, because it has an adjunct to its name that is calculated to mislead persons at a distance, and indeed all who judge of a work by the title alone."⁸²

Harris, in retaliation for this contemptuous attitude, expressed his opinion of the New Church thus: "Striving earnestly for a better order of things, devout and charitable men, receivers of the truths of the New Church through the writings of Swedenborg, have found a nucleus of a system which they fondly hope will become universal, but divisions have crept into it, and sore dissensions. We have the sad spectacle of a divided body, and the history of the Old Church is substantially repeated already. Excommunications on account of supposed heresies, revolts against usurping hierarchy, jarring and conflicting interests and divided councils, . . . there, if we mistake not, are the sure precursors of institutional decay. . . . Struggling for the mastery among the receivers of the New Dispensation are two conflicting elements,—a party of liberty and a party of authority are marshalled in the same external organism. We might divide them as Swedenborgians proper, and New Churchmen proper. When with interior vision we contemplate those whom we call the party of authority, they appear to us to be in intellectual slavery to the man Swedenborg. Rather than concede the point that their darling idol could be mistaken, they are willing to distrust the evidence of their own senses, both spiritual and natural. . . . It is enough for them that they have a 'thus saith Swedenborg' for any doctrine."⁸³ But his admiration for Swedenborg himself was unqualified. "He was a forerunner. He stands before the

world as the first specimen of the mankind of the New Age. . . . Exhausting all mere natural science, he rose above it into the realm of pure causation.”⁸⁴ And again: “Modern Spiritualism, so obscure in its origin, so diffusive in its influence, so tremendous in its psychical and social power, finds in Swedenborg at once a vindication of its excellencies and a refutation of its perversions. Himself a medium, transcending in the varied gifts which belong to the Oracle, or Seer of Spirits, he throws an ample light upon this most mysterious of enigmas. Mediums find their own states described at once with a simplicity and perspicuity which reveals a thorough mastery of this field of operation. . . . He masters the dialect of Spirits; he walks among them not as a subject, but as a messenger of God.”⁸⁵

The *Herald of Light* was bad enough from the orthodox New Church point of view, but Harris’s next publication, *The Arcana of Christianity*, the first volume of which was published in 1857, was even worse. For in this book Harris goes Swedenborg one better by revealing the *celestial*, or inmost sense of the Scriptures. This had been too sacred for Swedenborg to reveal who said that it was open only to the perceptions of the celestial angels. Harris states his divine commission thus: “It was my privilege to behold the Lord, whom I saw in his divine appearing, and who laid upon me the charge of receiving and unfolding such of those arcana of the celestial sense as are contained within this volume.”⁸⁶ No doubt it was a great relief to the New Church when Harris gave up his New York church and departed to England in 1859, where his reputation had preceded him. There he preached his own distinctive brand of Swedenborgianism with great success even among members of the New Church. He was received with open arms by Dr. James John Garth Wilkinson, one of the most important Swedenborgians of England, and author of a *Life of Swedenborg*, and other important works. Wilkinson was a non-separatist, and had never given up his membership in the Established Church. He was intensely interested in Spiritualism, and at one time had edited the *Spiritualist*

Herald, but had become convinced of the harmfulness of séances. He entertained Harris in his home, and it was there Harris met Lawrence Oliphant who played so great a part in his next venture, the Brotherhood of the New Life.³⁷

During his stay abroad Harris acquired more esoteric ideas, which were developed later in connection with his community at Brocton, Salem-on-Erie, N. Y. The founding of this colony is described by one of his disciples as follows: "In the year 1861 Mr. Harris was called in God to commence the organization of this social circle, and to which was given this only name and designation, The Use."³⁸ Here again we find the distinctively Swedenborgian "doctrine of use" made the basis of his system. Other ideas from Swedenborg appear in the esoteric teachings. As might be expected of a man of Harris's peculiar temperament he outwardly set great emphasis on "purity," and a great deal of effort apparently was expended in the attainment of this ideal, "for all had one great and terrible enemy in themselves to conquer, and this is that old enemy in the flesh of man, Scortation,—the inverted and debased sexual sense and passion. . . . And it is this that also constitutes the basis or root of that 'proprium' or debased selfhood."³⁹ Oliver Dyer, who was sent out by Dana to write up the Harris colony for the *New York Sun* says: "We will first state, generally, that Swedenborg furnishes the original doctrinal and philosophical basis of the whole fabric, to which Mr. Harris, as he conceives, has been led by Providence to add other and vital matters, which were unknown until they were revealed through him."⁴⁰

After this Harris ceased to trouble the New Church except indirectly, but his influence had produced some strange results even among New Church people. A group of thirty people in New Orleans were organized in 1854 by Harris "under Interior Instruction" as the Christian Church of the New Jerusalem. Their leader, Mr. S. E. Reynolds, was ordained by Harris. They met in an old school-house, with about fifty in attendance.⁴¹ The description of these meet-

ings is indeed interesting. "Speeches are given by influx. To those whose interiors are quickened, this influx is both visible and sensible. When intelligence and faith are treated of, it is through the left temple. When love to the Lord and His Kingdom, through the top of the head and extending to the heart and lungs. When the Word is illuminated the influx is through the forehead. Those who are in self-love will soon be pervaded by an influx from the hells, passing in at the back of the head and neck, opening interior sight and pervading the entire back. These will soon deny the Lord, or imagine that they are filled with the Holy Ghost." The author of this letter goes on to state: "For my part I think that but the few will attain unto inspiration, while the great mass of mankind who have spiritual manifestations, will receive them from spirits in self-love, filling the world with a literature vastly inferior to that of the ordinary schools of the day."⁴² Naturally this Society was not recognized by the official body of the Church.

It is obvious that there has been considerable give-and-take between the New Church and Spiritualism. If, as we have seen, the phenomena of Mesmerism and Spiritualism have brought converts into the New Church, it is also true that the New Church has made great contributions to the theology of Spiritualism. In his tract, *The New Church and Spiritism*, the Rev. Chauncey Giles states the relation of the two thus: "The New Church is often identified with Spiritualism, and the common opinion probably is that there is but little difference between them. There is certainly one point of agreement. The Spiritualists believe in the substantial existence of the spiritual world, and of man as a spiritual being. So do the members of the New Church. The spiritual world is the real world. All the objects in it are tangible to the spiritual senses. . . . But the points of difference are numerous and fundamental. . . . We believe that conscious intercourse with spirits is not useful or right; that it is fraught with the greatest danger to man's spiritual life, and ought never to be sought by any one. . . . It may be thought that we violate our own principles when we make Swedenborg

an exception to this law; but we do not. He never sought open intercourse with spirits and angels. The power to converse with them was given to him without any effort or seeking of his own, and there is conclusive evidence that he was especially prepared for it, for a special purpose; the opening of the spiritual sense of the Word and the revelation of a true doctrine derived from the Word, concerning God, and man, and the true nature of the spiritual world. This object he fully accomplished, and there is no necessity for supplementing it. He has disclosed doors of access to it, . . . there is nothing wanting.”⁴⁸

The relation of Swedenborgianism to American Philosophy is a subject upon which there has been considerable discussion. The New Church has been so preoccupied with the theology of Swedenborg, that until recent years little attempt has been made to present his philosophical system to the intellectual world. The first attempt of this sort was the Rev. Hugh White’s *Cosmogenia*, published in 1813,⁴⁹ and the second, Mrs. Margaret Hiller Prescott’s *Religion and Philosophy*, in 1817. In this little book the author undertakes to prove three propositions: “Proposition First.—That all true principles, springing from the one only Eternal Source, must be found to harmonize with the observations and experience of the wisest among mankind in all ages. Proposition Second.—Whenever, therefore, the ardent intellect of industrious man discovers principles apparently new, they may be fairly tried by an appeal to the enlightened understanding of his fellow-men, and will deservedly stand or fall by the decision consequent on such an appeal. Proposition Third.—That there are apparently new principles unfolded by Emanuel Swedenborg, which are at the present period of the world, offered to this ordeal. This book is an attempt to separate the philosophical principles from the religious doctrines, for the sake of an impartial judgment.”⁵⁰ This attitude, so free from dogmatism and sectarianism, does not appear again in the writings of the New Church for many a long year. It is as *divine revelation* that the writings of

Swedenborg have been presented to the world, to be accepted or rejected on that basis alone, and it is perhaps due largely to this fact that they are so little known outside the Church.

It was Emerson who, though distinctly not a Swedenborgian, accepted the task of bringing Swedenborg to that "ordeal" of which Mrs. Prescott speaks,—"an appeal to the enlightened understanding of his fellow-men," for it was Emerson who introduced Swedenborg to the intellectual world. It was through Sampson Reed, a fellow-student at the Harvard Divinity School, that he first became acquainted with the writings of Swedenborg. Reed was the son of the minister of the First Church (Unitarian) in West Bridgewater, and had come to Harvard with the intention of becoming a minister himself, but had become converted to Swedenborgianism by Thomas Worcester. This closed to him the chosen career, and he became a druggist instead. His intellectual gifts were not wasted, however, for he devoted many years to writing for the *New Jerusalem Magazine*, and editing the *New Church Magazine for Children*. Although Reed graduated the end of Emerson's freshman year, the friendship which had formed between them was a lasting one, in spite of serious philosophical and theological difficulties.⁴⁶ Dr. Clarence Hotson, in his dissertation, "Emerson and Swedenborg" (Harvard, 1929) makes the statement that Swedenborg had more influence on Emerson than any other single individual,⁴⁷ and Professor Hite of the New Church Theological School says that Emerson did more than any other to present Swedenborg to literary circles,⁴⁸ so whatever debt there was was amply paid.

It is obvious that Emerson was fascinated by Swedenborg from the start. Besides the essay on *Swedenborg, or the Mystic*, there are over eighty references to him in his writings, forty of these being in the *Journal*.⁴⁹ He made a list of the men who had undermined the traditional religion of New England,—they are the Arminians, the English theologians, followers of Locke in Philosophy, Hartley, Priestley, and Belsham, Swedenborg, and Dr. Channing.⁵⁰ He places him with the world's greatest,—Plato, Goethe, Shake-

speare, and Napoleon.⁵¹ But nevertheless there was something about Swedenborg which irritated and baffled him. He writes in *Swedenborg*: "The entire want of poetry in so transcendent a mind betokens the disease [mysticism, similar to insanity], and like a hoarse voice in a beautiful person, is a kind of warning. I think sometimes he will not be read longer."⁵² Again he complains of Swedenborg's lack of poetry. "This man, who, by his perception of symbols, saw the poetic construction of things . . . remained entirely devoid of the whole apparatus of poetic expression."⁵³ His judgments of Swedenborg are full of inconsistencies. The reason for this, is, undoubtedly, that Emerson found himself in a dilemma with regard to Swedenborg. The character of the man, his comprehensive scientific knowledge, and his idealistic philosophy, appealed to Emerson strongly,—but the theology of Swedenborg repelled him. The problem therefore, was, how logically to accept him as a philosopher and scientist, but reject him as the prophet of a new religion. There were at that time, before the advent of modern abnormal psychology, only two possible ways of regarding Swedenborg; that of his disciples, who accepted his revelations as divinely inspired; and that of his enemies, who insisted that he was insane. Emerson rejected both interpretations, and created a third,—he called Swedenborg a mystic. "He found in him the same type of mystical ideology to which he had become accustomed in the Eastern Scriptures," says Carpenter in *Emerson and Asia*,—and "likens him to a Hindu soul, seeking the unity of the law of right, in the variety of existence."⁵⁴ It is possible to pay transcendental respect and reverence to a mystic without understanding his doctrines. This was how Emerson, the romantic idealist, dealt with Swedenborg, the author of the *True Christian Religion*. James Truslow Adams, in *Emerson Reread*, says: "It is illuminating that the one he dwells on with the greatest admiration is Swedenborg [a slight exaggeration!]. This fact is significant."⁵⁵ He projected his own mysticism upon Swedenborg, who is very far from being a mystic in the usual sense, though much of his teaching fol-

lows the mystical tradition. There is, perhaps, a tragically prophetic note in Emerson's distrust of mysticism. He believed that it was always accompanied by disease,—“something morbid mingled, in spite of the unquestionable increase of mental power.”⁵⁶ And yet Swedenborg, Emerson's “Mystic,” died at eighty-four, in full possession of all his faculties, having accomplished the great bulk of his writings after the age of sixty.

Not only was Emerson deeply interested in Swedenborg, but also in his followers. In a letter to Carlyle he says, “They are to me, however, deeply interesting as a sect which I think must contribute more than all other sects to the new faith which must rise out of all.”⁵⁷ In 1826 his friend Reed had published a little book called *Observations on the Growth of Mind*, based on the teachings of Swedenborg, which impressed Emerson greatly. He sent a copy to Carlyle, who wrote concerning it: “He is a faithful thinker, that Swedenborgian druggist of yours, with a really deep idea, who makes me pause and think, were it only to consider what manner of man he must be, and what manner of thing, after all Swedenborgians must be.”⁵⁸ The friendship between Emerson and Reed was subjected to considerable strain by their opposite views concerning Swedenborg. Emerson understood him as writing in parables, whereas Reed took him literally. Emerson confides to his *Journal*: “In town I also talked with Sampson Reed and the rest. ‘It is not so in your experience, but it is so in the other world.’ ‘Other world?’ I reply, ‘There is no other world, here or nowhere is the whole fact.’” Here we see Emerson's empiricism in sharp conflict with the basic ideas of Swedenborg.⁵⁹ Dr. Hotson states that Emerson censured the theology of Swedenborg because he was afraid of being considered a disciple. “Any self-contradiction, ingratitude, or malice was preferable to such a fate.”⁶⁰ But such a conclusion seems hardly necessary to explain Emerson's hostility to New Church theology. It is easier to believe that it was sincere, for he was by temperament opposed to all dogmatism, and his philosophy was drawn from no one source,

but was a synthesis of many elements. Obviously such a volatile mind could not cramp itself into the hard and fast confines of Swedenborgian theology.

It was inevitable that Emerson should have come in conflict with the New Church. When his *Nature* was published anonymously in 1836, it was mistaken by many for a New Church work, especially in England where it was hailed with delight. It was highly commended by the *Intellectual Repository*, and republished by a New Church minister in Glasgow. This mistake was due to the use of such distinctively Swedenborgian words as "influx" and "ultimate," and to the fact that its leading idea of Nature as a symbol of the soul is so similar to the doctrine of correspondences. But the *New Jerusalem Magazine* protested against this mistaken approbation, and found severe fault with the book. "Here then we find the glorification of the Lord's Humanity spoken of simply as 'an example of the action of man upon nature, with his entire force,' the Word included in the same category with the traditions of antiquity, and the miracles of Shakers; as being the product of David, Isaiah, Jesus, equally men, and much of it drawn by them from the pomp and riches of nature; and that the teachings of Swedenborg are of the same relative value as the philosophical speculations of the Egyptians, Brahmins, etc. And these principles pervade the work. We find nowhere any reference to the Lord, by whom all things were made. . . . We find the name of the Saviour used without reverence." In a lecture before the Phi Beta Kappa Society in 1837 Emerson referred to Swedenborg as one who had "endeavoured to engraft a purely Philosophical Ethics on the popular Christianity of his time."⁶¹ This brought forth these caustic remarks: "Those can have but a poor idea, even of his literary character, who have not studied his writings too well to speak of his having attempted to engraft anything 'on the popular Christianity of his time.' We have no doubt but Mr. Emerson intended to speak respectfully and truly of Swedenborg. But his remarks show that he has read him little;—or rather, to little purpose. . . . It [this subject] derives some importance from the fact that

many seem to suppose that Mr. Emerson's general views are nearly allied to those of the New Church.”⁶²

But it was his lecture on “Swedenborg, or the Mystic,” delivered at the Odeon in 1845, which produced the most violent reactions. Professor Bush replied to it in a lecture in the same place a few weeks afterwards, in which he said that “Christians can feel the touch of his [Emerson's] poetry,—they can heed the sayings of philosophy,—but they cannot repel the chill which ices their hearts when celestial sanctities are outraged, be the diction ever so silvered or the figures gathered from the gardens of Paradise itself. . . . While he pronounces him [Swedenborg] a Mastodon or Missourium of literature, not to be measured by a whole population of ordinary minds, he still presents him, in connection with his religious mission, in a light which goes exceedingly to detract from the estimate that would otherwise be formed of his powers and labors. . . . He thinks nothing of the Scriptures as divine, and therefore nothing of Swedenborg as a further revealer of its divine meaning. . . . Mr. Emerson does not believe in a Last Judgment. He says no degree of debasement stands in the way of man's advance toward perfection. ‘With him the tendency is always upward, whether found in brothels, in prisons, or on the gallows.’ I quote his own words, though with a sense of horror. . . . He clearly accords to Swedenborg the credit of having read in all the visual forms of the material universe a symbolic language, and having been the first to embody in scientific form the principles of correspondence which dimly floated through the minds of Plato, Bacon, and all the great lights of the ages. He has redeemed from poetry and fixed in the domain of reason and science, the superb doctrine, ‘that the natural is merely the transparent veil of the spiritual.’ If it is true in philosophy, is it false in its theological applications? Yet it is the assertion of this very principle which, in the world's repute, has branded Swedenborg with the name of mystic and visionary. . . . Is this impartial justice?”⁶³

Another New Church critic of this lecture of Emerson's

makes the charge of superficiality very pointedly: "It is marvellous how he should have taken upon himself, in this lecture, to represent Swedenborg's teaching on the subject of evil, when to all appearance he had such a very slight acquaintance with it."⁶⁴ In respect to this charge of superficiality, Dr. Hotson claims that his researches show that Emerson got his knowledge of Swedenborg mainly at second hand, through translations, articles in the *New Jerusalem Magazine*, sermons, and conversations with Sampson Reed,—in short, that he was never a real *student* of Swedenborg at all.⁶⁵ Dr. Hotson also claims that a great many of the misconceptions regarding Swedenborg and the New Church can be traced back directly to Emerson's misleading statements, and that while it is true that he brought Swedenborg to the attention of the intellectuals of New England, his influence on the whole has been harmful to the New Church.⁶⁶

The relation between the Swedenborgians and the Transcendentalists of Brook Farm appears in many articles in the *Harbinger* and the *New Jerusalem Magazine*. The latter speaks of Transcendentalism thus: "It is often compared to Swedenborgianism; it is commonly thought to be near of kin with it, and almost the same thing. And there are respects in which they are much alike. Both proclaim the utter degeneracy of the church and the world: both declare that all man's life needs to be purified, renewed, lifted from the ground: both declare that infinite measures of truth lie within our reach: both profess to teach how new life, religious, moral, intellectual, civil and social, may be poured forth upon the world, to vivify and re-create it. But here the analogy stops; here the likeness gives place to contrast and opposition, for when they both seek for the instruction which they profess to give,—the one turns toward light and source of light,—the other towards thick darkness."⁶⁷ (The *Harbinger* probably would have agreed to this statement,—but "with a difference.") The Transcendentalists, however much respect they had for Swedenborg, certainly felt no enthusiasm for the New Church. John S. Dwight writes of it: "The Swedenborgians seldom look out of their own

church for movement. As a sect, in this country, and especially in Boston, they are quietists and exclusivists. They are not active reformers, but accepting literally the revelations of their master they cling to their small community of a New Church, few in number as they are, as the nucleus of all that there is good and permanent and tending to the true estate of Man." As for the *New Jerusalem Magazine*,—"It is almost altogether theological and simplistic-spiritual, although it has much to say of the doctrine of *uses*. But these are rather in the common details of individual private life; and as to society, it seems to believe that there is and can be no society out of the communion of the New Church. It is incredulous to any scheme for the political and social regeneration of the race, except the theological scheme." However he does pay tribute to the members of the Church themselves: "They live a life apparently of cheerful charity and piety within their own communion, and are distinguished by mild courtesy to all men; but they seem to dread the contamination of the world, and to avoid mixing themselves in any general movements."⁶⁸

When Fourierism swept the country in the early forties there were many who saw a resemblance between its social philosophy and the doctrines of Swedenborg, and a serious attempt was made to bring the New Church into the movement. Both Greeley and Brisbane, the originators of the Fourier propaganda in the *New York Tribune*, had connections with the Swedenborgians in England and America. Dr. Wilkinson, the English correspondent of the *Tribune*, as well as of the *New Jerusalem Magazine*, added an eager interest in Fourierism to his above-mentioned interest in Spiritualism. He attended a meeting in Paris with Brisbane, Dana, and Robert Owen, then a very old man, to discuss the future of the movement in America. Wilkinson thought it would "catch on there, for the whole thing is jolly human." But he thought it had best be kept separate from Swedenborgianism, since Fourier's advocacy of free love would hardly fit in with Swedenborg's theories of marriage.⁶⁹ He wrote to the *New Jerusalem Magazine* in 1843:

"The doctrines of Transmigration of Souls, Transmutation of Sex, the conscious Life of the Planets, Suns, and Material Universes, generally, will not be readily acceptable to the New Church."¹⁰ But already an interest in the new philosophy had appeared in New Church circles. As early as 1842 a subscriber writes to the *Magazine* asking for information regarding the teachings of Fourier and their connection with the New Church: "I have seen in the *New Jerusalem Magazine*, some time back, a short notice of his system, with, if I remember right, a respectful notice of it, and also an address by Caleb Reed."¹¹

But when Brisbane returned to America in 1840, after two years of study in Paris with Charles Fourier himself, and published his book, *The Social Destiny of Man*, and Greeley began the propaganda in the *Tribune*, the thing went like wildfire. By 1843 there were nineteen Fourier "Phalanxes" organized, and the following year thirteen more appeared, but by 1846 the movement began to die out rapidly.¹² When the Brook Farm Transcendentalists accepted Fourierism, and turned their community into a Phalanx, a number of their members were Swedenborgians, and the connection between the two groups was at that time very close. George Ripley, in an article called *Association Not Sectarian*, says of its members: "We find among them at present men who incline to Calvinistic doctrines, with others of a more heretical character; the devoted receivers of the illustrious Swedenborg, and the bold inquirers who question all the teachings of a traditional theology. . . . We study him [Swedenborg] continually for the light he sheds on many problems of human destiny, and more especially for the remarkable correspondence, as of inner with outer, which his revelations present with the discourses of Fourier concerning Social organization, or the outward forms of life. The one is the great poet and high-priest, the other the great economist, as it were, of the Harmonic Order, which all things are preparing."¹³ So close was the connection that the *Harbinger* felt obliged to deny any actual relation to the New Church: "We have somewhere seen it said,

either directly or indirectly, that the *Harbinger* has a tendency to this theology, or that those engaged in the Associative movement in this country are favorable to it. As to the latter point we admit that we regard it with profound respect, and that there are some, whom we are proud to call our brethren and fellow labourers, who receive entirely its most important features. But there are others of us who are of very different persuasions; and indeed in admitting that Swedenborg was a Heaven-sent teacher of Humanity, we are far from pledging the members of the Associative School to his doctrines, or the so-called New Church as a special body. In fact we do not think that the New Church has yet fully comprehended these doctrines which in our opinion can be understood only by the help of Fourier's theory of General Destinies.”¹⁴ In an attempt to assist the New Church to a more adequate understanding of its own doctrines, the *Harbinger* says: “We hope that the relation we have pointed out between Swedenborg and Fourier will lead disciples of the latter to study the doctrines of the former. We should be very happy on the other hand, if we could attract the attention of members of the New Church to this magnificent system, which gives in the language of earth, the most beautiful translation of their mystic hopes.”¹⁵

Meanwhile there was considerable discussion of the subject pro and con, in the New Church periodicals. One contributor objected strongly to Fourier's teachings as “pure Epicureanism,”—allowing the passions to have full sway. He said that the philosophical aspect of Fourierism in its relation to the New Church was analogous to that of Neo-Platonism to the Primitive Church.¹⁶ But an article in the *New Churchman*, a Philadelphia publication, took the other side of the matter. “Industry in the Phalanx is organized into *series*, which are composed of *groups* and sub-groups. The *series*, as may be seen in the Heavenly Arcana, is the law of universal divine order. . . . I intend to show at full length the perfect identity which exists between the social doctrine of Fourier and the fundamental principles of Swedenborg's revelation, and I have no doubt that to all think-

ing members of the New Church the ‘Association’ of Fourier will appear that organization of the New Church which will unite all its elements into one beautiful and glorious harmony.”⁷⁷

But the members of the New Church were hardly the type to rush hastily into socialistic ventures. In 1843 some members of the Boston Society made an effort to establish an “Association,” but failed. The chief objection appears in an article by Otis Clapp called “The Family Sphere,” and containing excerpts from a paper read at one of their meetings. He concludes: “We are, therefore, Fourierists, so far as we can find materials in his system adapted to our wants; and we consider ourselves responsible for those parts of his system only which we after careful examination find it to our advantage to adopt. . . . Objections are often made to Association on the ground that the family sphere will be destroyed. Swedenborg says, ‘All things relating to mutual love are in the heavens as consanguinities or relationships, consequently as families.’ I hold therefore most unqualifiedly to the inviolability of the domestic or family sphere.”⁷⁸ Thus we see that sex radicalism was the rock on which the hopes of Fourierism were wrecked in the New Church.

But there were two Phalanxes actually formed of New Church people,—one in Leraysville, Pa., and the other in Canton, Ill. The Leraysville Phalanx, founded in 1844, by the Rev. L. C. Belding, lasted only eight months. It started under happy auspices with forty members and fifteen hundred acres of land, and the reasons for its failure were probably the usual ones. The Rev. Solyman Brown, a well-known New Churchman, served as preacher, teacher, and dentist for the community while it lasted.⁷⁹ The other venture, the Canton Phalanx, was founded the next year by John F. Randolph, president of the Illinois Association of the New Church, who had converted Belding and Brown to Fourierism. He gave his own farm of three or four hundred acres as a site for the Phalanx. On it there were several log cabins, and a large log mill, besides the dwelling house of the Randolphs. The mill was moved to a better site, and

a shed added for a kitchen and washroom, making a common dining hall, in the attic of which the young men slept. Board shanties were built adjoining it, one or two for each family. Because of its peculiar structure and appearance it was familiarly known as "The Bird." In the spring twelve or fifteen of the most prominent families in Canton moved out to occupy this architectural marvel. One "series" attended to the farm, and another made bricks for a "phalansterie." The children were kept busy with schooling and the cultivation of flowers. Unfortunately Mr. Randolph died suddenly in the fall, and the group was left without a leader. The bricks were sold to pay back the non-resident stockholders, the loose property was divided and the farm returned to the Randolph family. "'The Bird' folded its wings and disappeared.' The Canton Society never recovered from the blow. They were both financially crippled, and humiliated in the eyes of their neighbors.⁸⁰

In spite of these discouraging events, however, the enthusiasts in the movement continued their propaganda. As late as 1848 an ambitious work appeared anonymously entitled *The True Organization of the New Church*. The book opens thus: "I dedicate this work to the adherents of Fourier and Swedenborg. The doctrines of these two men cannot remain separate. Their union constitutes the union of Science and Religion." The author goes on to say that "the followers of Fourier indulge too much in the pride of Science to make their doctrines acceptable to Christian thinkers, . . . but on the other hand, the members of the New Church are too full of the *pride of faith*, too contemptuous of whatever does not chime in with their man-worship of Swedenborg. . . . They have contented themselves with purifying, each in his own way, the interiors of their minds, . . . but they have lost sight of the scientific universality of their doctrine, and the necessity of reconstructing the External Man by means of the scientific, that is, collective or universal application to life of the principles of Swedenborg. . . . Swedenborg designates the spiritual heavens by the term Grand Man. The Grand Man is an

organization of the heavenly inhabitants into *Series of Groups*, or in the language of Swedenborg, into consociations of all the determinations of their affections united into a One, by the inflowing Divine principle. . . . But Swedenborg leaves his disciples ignorant of the particular nature of Divine Order, or that Orderly Arrangement which exists from the Lord, in the Natural Man, and which must be realized first, in order that the conjunction of the External and the Internal Man may be effected. It is this Orderly Arrangement which Fourier has discovered, and which the disciples of Swedenborg require to know to organize their Church.”⁸¹ The author then identifies the “Passional Principle” of Fourier with Swedenborg’s “Conjugial Love”: “The Passional Principle is not only capable of Order, but the laws of Harmony can be applied to it. Fourier calls it Passional Harmony, and Swedenborg, Conjugial Love. . . . Man’s freedom and happiness increase in proportion as he succeeds in realizing an *orderly* but *spontaneous* development of his passions, or his *inborn, genuine tendencies to action*. . . . This orderly freedom does certainly not mean anarchy; it precludes the idea of licentiousness; it is order itself. . . . According to both Swedenborg and Fourier the passions are the essences, the life of the human soul; without the passions the human soul would be a nonentity. . . . Swedenborg says (*Conjugial Love*, 461), ‘The inhibition and retraction of our delights is what is called the torments of Hell!’ ”⁸²

This book brought forth a torrent of indignation from the anti-Fourierist element in the Church. The *New Jerusalem Magazine* spoke scathingly of those who were attempting to unite the New Church with Fourierism. “In general they speak very highly of Swedenborg, but they give a new interpretation to his writings. This they do under the assumption that these writings have not heretofore been correctly apprehended by those who have professed to receive them. Indeed they suppose that Swedenborg has been peculiarly unfortunate in the character of his followers, who have been almost wholly confined to a narrow and bigoted class, en-

tirely incompetent to grasp his true meaning. . . . The author of this book has not the remotest idea of the existence of a *regenerate or spiritual man*, of whom alone the heavenly marriage described by Swedenborg is predictable. Fourier says, ‘Self love, in the Phalanx, is the pivotal or fundamental Love of every individual man.’ Swedenborg says, ‘When the love of the neighbor makes the head, and the two remaining loves (of the world and of the self) make in order the body and the feet, that man appears from heaven of an angelic face.’ . . . The horrible falsity which underlies the whole book, and which is constantly exhaling its sickening and blasphemous effluvia to poison and paralyze the reader’s perceptions,—we refer to the doctrine of *necessity* in its fullest sense,—a sense which absolves the guilty from all blame, and makes God the only author of evil, to the utter confounding of heaven and hell and of all opposites.”⁸³

The Rev. B. F. Barrett also criticized the book as full of falsehoods, and perversions of Swedenborg’s doctrines. Among these false statements he quotes: “Christ and the Devil are the fundamental constituents of the Divine Principle, and will ultimately coalesce into One Compound Unit.” “Regeneration is social and not individual. It implies a radical change or remodelling of the Social Man,—a reorganization upon the principles of Charles Fourier.” “We are *collectively* (not individually) responsible for the evil which each of us commits. Civilization is accountable for all the crimes that men commit.” “It is time that the real friends of Humanity shall unite to lay low the insidious falsity, and the hidden selfishness of the isolated family, which has for thousands of years been enveloped with the drapery of sanctity, goodness and love.”⁸⁴ Quite naturally the book was abhorrent to the New Church.

The most serious consequence of the connection between the New Church and Fourierism, though wholly unofficial, as we have seen, was the share of criticism which it was obliged to bear in the general wave of reaction against Fourier’s anti-marriage teachings. An article from the *New York Daily Times*, entitled “Origin, Progress, and Position

of the Anti-Marriage Movement," and quoted in the *New Jerusalem Magazine*, speaks of a "plan to subvert the present organization of society. . . . It is to Fourierism, therefore, and its introduction and promulgation, that we attribute the disgusting and detestable *free love* system which is openly advocated throughout the country. Among the promulgators of this doctrine is Dr. Lazarus, a gentleman of Hebrew birth. . . . We have mentioned Swedenborg as one of the authors quoted and commented on by Dr. Lazarus in support of his views. Although there is nothing in the writings of Swedenborg on which a vindication of such a system as that we are discussing could be based, there is no doubt that very many of its advocates make effective use of them. . . . Although his doctrine of *conjugal love* implies the eternal spiritual affinity of a single pair, and would naturally bind his disciples to an indissoluble monogamy, use is made of it to inculcate the propriety and duty of dissolving all false and merely legal relations, and many Swedenborgians make it a matter of conscience to repudiate all such relations and form new ones, with a view to more perfect, and therefore permanent, connections." Here we see the New Church, through Fourierism, brought into very bad company indeed. Also Henry James, Sr., who, though not a member of the New Church, was well known as a Swedenborgian, had made matters worse by defending "*Swedenborgian, or spiritual marriage of the affinities*" in the *New York Observer*, and had spoken disrespectfully of the legal tie as a "handcuffing of the police." The situation was now felt to be serious, and the Rev. Thomas Worcester undertook to reply in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* to the accusations in the article from the *Times*: "I confess with sorrow," he writes, "that some Swedenborgians have left Swedenborg and gone to Fourier, and to what is called Spiritualism. Since then I have no doubt they have advocated the sentiments of their new associates, and in doing this, they may have perverted, and profaned the principles of the New Church. . . . I have been a member of the New Church for nearly forty years; I have been a teacher of its doctrines in

this city for thirty-seven years; and during this time I have been extensively acquainted with my spiritual brethren in all parts of this country, and with many in Europe. And yet I have never known or heard of any one in the Church who looked upon the anti-marriage sentiments referred to with any favor.”⁸⁵

In summing up the relation between the New Church and Fourierism, it is only fair to say that the New Church was “more sinned against than sinning.” The advances seem to have come from the Fourierists themselves, who thought they saw in the followers of Swedenborg a likely field for propaganda. To this, as we have seen, many responded, but the great majority in the New Church were wholly unimpressed, if not actively scandalized, by the extraordinary teachings of Fourier. The relation of Swedenborgianism to Transcendentalism, however, is not so simple a matter. There is no doubt of its influence on Emerson, but aside from him there is very little clear evidence. Bronson Alcott presents, perhaps, the next best case. He and Emerson discussed Swedenborg frequently, and Alcott had a great deal of knowledge of his writings. He found help in them in understanding his own mystical states of illumination. He said the philosophers with whom he felt most in accord were Pythagoras, Plato, Iamblichus, Plotinus, Porphyry, Proclus, Boehme, and Swedenborg. In one of his states of illumination he saw the entire world as one vast spinal column which corresponded to the “gifts” in his Pantheon of the Mind,—a sort of ascending or descending scale from the Divine Spirit to matter. His biographer, Sanborn, says, “I therefore conceive this insight into the symbolic significance of the spine to be directly connected with his studies in Swedenborg.”⁸⁶ Charles A. Dana spent five years at Brook Farm as a very young man, and there he came under the influence of Swedenborg’s writings, an influence which persisted throughout his life. For many years he was a regular attendant at the New York Swedenborgian church, although he never became a member.⁸⁷ It is certainly a fact that a “Swedenborgian wave” passed over New England in

the forties, and left its mark upon the thought of the period to a certain extent. Men like Edward Everett Hale, Theodore Parker, William H. Channing, and James Freeman Clarke referred in lectures, books, and personal letters to Swedenborg in terms of highest praise. In his book on *Self Culture*, Clarke puts Swedenborg with Voltaire, Wesley, and Franklin, as the four men who have had the most marked influence on the age. Of Swedenborg he says: "His thought, so subtle and so deep, is gradually conquering the materialism of philosophy and theology and so bringing down what he called the New Jerusalem, or the sight of divine truth incarnate in all actual facts and laws."⁸⁸ Julia Ward Howe wrote to a friend: "We were a month at sea, and after the first day of discomfort, I managed to fill the hours of the long summer days with systematic occupation. In the morning I perused Swedenborg's *Divine Love and Wisdom*."⁸⁹ The New Church Evidence Society has made a detailed study of this period, and reports some interesting findings. "For more than three decades Swedenborg was much read, and he was the subject of long and able special articles in the New England magazines of the period by the leading minds and the best writers of the community, such names as F. H. Hedge, of the Harvard Divinity School, G. E. Ellis, Edward Purkett, E. H. Sears, and others, in the *Christian Examiner* from 1833 to 1860; Sidney Willard, in the *American Monthly Review*, 1832; J. H. Barrett and J. B. Throll, in the *New Englander*; Dr. W. S. Plumer and L. H. Atwater, in the *Princeton Review*, and an important unsigned article in the *Massachusetts Quarterly Review*, June, 1848 [by Henry James, Sr.]. We have here a body of the most earnest study and the most intelligent criticism that has been given popular form from the outside point of view to Swedenborg's character and mission."⁹⁰

But this "Swedenborgian wave" soon passed, and interest in his teachings among the intellectuals became more and more rare. Whatever influence Swedenborg has had on American philosophy, except in the cases of Emerson and Alcott, is certainly of an indirect nature. Woodbridge Riley

mentions Job Durfee's *Pan-idea; or, An Omnipresent Reason Considered as the Creative and Sustaining Logos* (Providence, 1849,) as an early instance of Swedenborgian influence. He also calls Swedenborg the source of the mysticism of William James, and considers the chapter on Fechner in *A Pluralistic Universe* especially Swedenborgian.⁹¹ Emile Boutroux also finds James "thoroughly imbued with the Swedenborgian spirit."⁹² In this connection however it is perhaps significant that the New Church students of philosophy, in their criticisms of the writings of James, find little affinity between his philosophy and the teachings of Swedenborg. Professor Hite of the New Church Theological School writes: "Professor James' attitude toward idealism, and toward absolutism in general, is partly temperamental and partly intellectual. He is thoroughly infected with hereditary opposition to all forms of the static, the conventionalized, and the institutionalized."⁹³

The relation between the teachings of Swedenborg and the theory and practice of medicine is a study in itself. It has been noted that an unusually large proportion of his early disciples were doctors or pharmacists, both in England, and in America.⁹⁴ Many of them no doubt were familiar with his works in anatomy and physiology, and were naturally led to an interest in his theology. Also the theological works abound in examples and illustrations drawn from his knowledge of science, which made them doubly convincing to men of science. And although Swedenborg states clearly that the causes of disease are spiritual, he was far too much of a scientist to deny its physical reality, or the propriety of treating it by material means. The first system of healing to appear which seemed to be in harmony with this theory of spiritual causation was Mesmerism, or animal magnetism. We have seen how intense was the interest of New Church people in these phenomena. In the *New Jerusalem Magazine* in the early thirties there were a number of articles on this subject. In 1832 an article called "The Healing of Diseases by Faith" appeared which contended that whereas the unregenerate man must rely on medicine, the regenerating

man need not do so. It told the incident of Swedenborg's toothache, which he said was not caused by a diseased nerve, but by "the influx from hell from hypocrites" and which he said he knew would soon leave him.⁹⁵ The following year an article on "Somnambulism and Animal Magnetism" admits the cures made by the magnetizers, but does not recommend the practice, on account of the danger of getting in contact with evil spirits. The article states however that "disease always implies a conflict between the internal and the external," and is therefore subject to spiritual treatment.⁹⁶ Another article, "The Present State of the Science of Medicine," in 1835, says: "But of all the present imperfections in the science of medicine, that which may be said to comprehend the whole, is ignorance of the true nature of disease, . . . the disease itself is overlooked, and the term is applied to the wholesome efforts of the constitution to remove it. . . . There is reason to hope and confidently expect that the heat and light descending from the New Church, will soon reach and reanimate the science of medicine."⁹⁷

As Mesmerism by degrees fell into disrepute, a new system of healing, Homeopathy, came into vogue. Its earliest connection with the New Church was through Dr. Hans B. Gram, who located in New York City in 1825, and became a member of the New York Society. Dr. Gram, who had studied in Germany with Hahnemann himself, and had suffered considerable persecution in his attempt to introduce the new methods in Copenhagen, was the first Homeopathic physician in America. Not only was he successful in converting a number of prominent New York physicians to the new doctrines, but also in introducing them to the members of the New Church. He translated Hahnemann's essay, *The Spirit of Homœopathy* in 1826.⁹⁸ Homeopathy went like wild-fire through the New Church. Its periodicals are full of discussions of its relation to the teachings of Swedenborg, and a large proportion of its membership embraced it. Two of the largest firms of Homeopathic pharmacists in America, Boericke and Tafel, of Philadelphia, and Otis

Clapp, of Boston, were founded by New Churchmen. These men also were active in the publication of Homeopathic literature, Mr. Boericke owning the controlling interest in the Hahnemann Publishing House.⁹⁹ There was soon a large number of Homeopathic physicians also on the rolls of the New Church, several of whom later became ordained ministers.¹⁰⁰

The reasons for this connection between the two doctrines have been set forth at great length in New Church publications. There seems to have been no direct influence however on Hahnemann himself of the writings of Swedenborg, though it is probable that he was familiar with some of the anatomical works of his earlier years.¹⁰¹ The chief connecting link between them seems to be Paracelsus of whom both he and Swedenborg were deep students, and whose doctrine of "signatures" is accountable for much of the resemblance between their theories. For Hahnemann, as well as Swedenborg, disease was a matter of the spirit, or as Hahnemann phrases it: "Dynamic aberrations of our spirit,—like life, manifested by sensations and actions." The "psora," which caused chronic diseases, was a miasm, or evil spirit, which pervaded the body, and finally manifested itself as an irritation.¹⁰² Regarding the relation between the two Doctrines, Dr. William E. Payne, of Bath, Me., wrote as follows: "By this attempt to present the science of medicine in its orderly connection with the doctrines of the Church, I have entered, I am aware, upon a plane of boundless extent. . . . All spiritual diseases, as we shall endeavor to show in the course of our remarks, have a counterpart in the diseases of the natural body; or otherwise, all diseases of the natural body are ultimates of spiritual disorders, or evil affections of the mind. And while the province of the spiritual physician is confined to the spiritual plane, by ministering specifically to diseases of the mind, so likewise, is the province of the natural physician confined to the natural plane, by administering specifically to diseases of the natural body. . . . The skepticism existing within the pale of the church, and in the minds of those who are without, may be seen represented

in the growing disbelief in the utility of all medicines, in the minds of both professional and non-professional men. As in the one case false principles are used for the suppression of moral depravity, so in the other, medicines are used for the suppression of bodily disease, or else the effects of disease are removed for disease itself, as in cases of the removal of tumours by the knife, to make the exterior of the body appear healthy and fair, while the same interior cause remains, still flowing into the external, manifesting itself perhaps in a more loathsome form than before.”¹⁰⁸

The article continues: “Two new methods for the treatment of diseases have recently recommended themselves to New Churchmen. The one, Hydropathy, or as it is sometimes called, the cold water system of cure; and the other Homeopathy, or that system of medicine which recognizes the use of specific remedies. The *former* is of very recent origin, and has recommended itself to New Churchmen for the general correspondence of water. About half a century has elapsed since the principles of the *latter*, were first made known to the world, in the form of science, and recommended itself to Newchurchmen, as it is now seen, principally from this, that it refers the origin of all diseases to immaterial spiritual causes. . . . Swedenborg says, ‘Diseases correspond with the lusts and passions of the mind; these therefore are the origins of diseases; for the origins of diseases, in common, are intemperances, luxuries of various kinds, pleasures merely corporeal, also envyings, hatreds, revenges, lasciviousnesses and the like, which destroy the interiors of man, and when these are destroyed the exteriors suffer, and draw men into disease, and thereby into death.’ . . . If the influx into the natural world of the life of wild and ferocious beasts and poisonous vegetables and minerals, is free and unobstructed, natural disease will not occur; for this life flows freely through the mind, tending to its own ultimate form, either in the animal, vegetable, or mineral degree, which form can alone receive it without that violence which would be offered to it by a life differing essentially from its own proper life. ‘Thus we see, [quoting

Swedenborg] that all objects and things of the natural world serve as a kind of safety valves, if the expression may be allowed, for the protection of man's natural life; without these he could not exist a moment.' . . . When a disease has manifested itself 'it now becomes necessary, in order that the natural body should be restored to a reception of its proper life,—to a state of health, that this obstruction should be overcome,—that this affection which is arrested, and is flowing into the natural body as its ultimate recipient, should again flow downward into its own proper recipient, and leave the natural body, a recipient only of its own appropriate life. That this may be effected, the ultimate of the disease, or the evil affections, which is operating in the body to form a receptacle, must be introduced upon the same plane to receive the disorderly life.' Mercury produces the same evil effects as syphilis,—like cures like,—hence mercury cures syphilis."¹⁰⁴

In an article called "Have the Principles of Homœopathy an Affinity with the Doctrines of the New Church?" the Rev. Richard DeCharms expounds his theories of the connection. "It is not true that one disease is cast out by another similar disease. As we have shown this is not the theory of homœopathic cure. The theory is, that the evil spirits of hell, who are exciting disease in the human economy, by flowing into human poisons corresponding to them which sin has generated therein, are *derived*, drawn down, from that economy, by presenting to them a more grateful field for their infernal activity, namely, those *similar* poisons, which correspond to the hells of those spirits in the animal, vegetable, or mineral kingdoms, which lie beneath man. Into these lower poisons or their effects, the infernal spirits *go freely* and by divine *permission*, not *constraint*, because they feel greater delight in a more ultimate ground of their activity."¹⁰⁵ This extraordinary theory was sharply criticized by several New Church physicians, both homeopathic and allopathic. Dr. William H. Holcombe, an allopathic physician who was later converted to Homeopathy, wrote, "When a person swallows arsenic, the spirits do not rush into the molecules

of the arsenic, display their malignant activity and then pass out of the body in the arsenic. They only seize upon the arsenic as an ultimate agent by which they may work that destruction in his body which they would wreak upon his soul. A chemical antidote by changing the form of the substance prevents the infernal influx. . . . The entrance of the devils into the swine is a stereotyped illustration with Homœopathic New Churchmen, but the two most essential points are overlooked. The devils left the two men with great reluctance, prefacing their request to go into the swine, with the deprecating words, 'If thou cast us out.' The sphere of Divine Love *tortured* them so that they became willing to abandon their higher sphere of operation, for an inferior and (contrary to Mr. DeCharms' hypothesis) a *less agreeable one.*"¹⁰⁶ Another dissenting opinion came from Dr. William M. Murdoch, another allopathic New Church physician. "I assert in all truth, that I am not able to find a single principle, and scarcely a single expression, in the works of Swedenborg that can be construed into the support of the notion that Like Cures Like, 'similia similibus curantur,' indeed, this seems to me, to be the very principle which our Lord repudiated, when he taught that it was impossible to cast out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of devils. . . . Moreover I do not think that a religious journal is a proper medium for carrying on controversies concerning medical theories. . . . Physicians consider the opinions of clergymen, on medical matters, entirely worthless."¹⁰⁷

Dr. Charles S. Mack, professor in the Homœopathic Medical College of the University of Michigan, and later a New Church minister, in his book, *Philosophy in Homœopathy*, devotes several pages to the relation of Homeopathy to Swedenborgian philosophy. His belief is that "the theory of homeopathy seems entirely agreeable to the belief that we are recipients of life from the Prime Source of life, and, if cure occurs, recipients of the health which replaces disease."¹⁰⁸

The subject of spiritual healing has been of interest to some in the New Church since as early as the forties, though

the consensus of opinion has always been against it. An article in the *Newchurchman* gives a suggestion for a method which is a remarkable foreshadowing of the "psychoanalytic transference." "The spiritual physician assumes, mentally, in relation to the patient, only his ultimate state, which state is the evil affection; . . . and by this he descends to his state, for this evil affection or desire represents the state of the patient, and himself (the physician) represents truth to which the patient is to be elevated. Now the spiritual physician, by manifesting himself thus to the patient, in his character of truth, or by instructing the spiritually diseased patient relative to his own state, a way is pointed out, or opened, by which the patient may be spiritually healed."¹⁰⁹ This psychological approach also appears in a book by Dr. Walter Kidder in 1849, *A General Deduction from the Psychological System of Medicine, with an especial Illustration upon Typhus and Typhoid*,—a scientific treatise based on New Church principles.¹¹⁰ But another approach to spiritual healing was suggested in an article in the *New Church Repository* in 1850: "The breaking up of old things and the evolution of new, so strikingly characteristic of the age, do not promise support to Homeopathy, or any kindred, incomplete and unscientific system of medicine, but rather foretell the development of a spiritual medicine, which will be the analogue or corresponding form of Allopathy, in a higher sphere. . . . Mesmerism, Clairvoyance, and all other forms of spiritual manifestation must be taken out of the hands of itinerant charlatans, and submitted to the analytic powers of the candid, laborious, disinterested and capable philosophers. From the heterogeneous mass will be probably developed a science which will supersede even the vast, mature and venerable system of medicine which is now shedding its incalculable blessings on the human race."¹¹¹ In view of the work of Janet and Freud, beginning with hypnotism and ending with analytical psychology, these words have a strangely prophetic ring.

The first attempt in America to evolve a scientific method of healing from the Phenomena of Mesmerism was that of

Phineas P. Quimby, whose system became the basis of both Mrs. Eddy's Christian Science and the New Thought Movement. The question of Quimby's relation to Swedenborg is one of interest to the New Church. His son, George Quimby, is quoted as saying in a letter dated June 20, 1907: "Father was at one time interested in Swedenborg's ideas."¹¹² But Horatio Dresser, in *The Quimby Manuscripts*, says that Quimby was not a reader of philosophy or theology, and did not borrow his ideas from Berkeley or Swedenborg. His only reference to Swedenborg is that he thought Mahomet and Swedenborg had "self-induced inner states." Mr. Dresser says elsewhere: "Some have supposed that Mr. Quimby derived his teachings in part from Swedenborg, but there is no direct proof of this assumption. Mr. Quimby may have discussed the teachings of Swedenborg with the New Church minister in Portland; but there is no indication of any influence coming from that quarter in Quimby's writings. The most we can say is that Quimby belonged to the New Age whose coming Swedenborg foretold. Quimby's teaching coincided with Swedenborg's at certain points, but it remained for Mr. Evans to detect the resemblance, and to look to Swedenborg's writings for the fundamental basis for Quimby's theory of spiritual healing."¹¹³ So it was the Rev. Warren F. Evans, pastor of the New Church in Portland, who formed the connecting link. He went to Quimby for treatment in 1863, and became one of his most noted disciples. Evans had become converted to Berkeley's idealism, and confused Swedenborg with the Idealists. "All the objects of nature are phenomena, or appearances, as Hegel, Fichte, Berkeley, Swedenborg, and all idealists, affirm," he writes in *The Divine Law of Cure* (p. 152).¹¹⁴ Evans not only formulated a metaphysical basis for Quimby's system of mind cure, but proceeded to put it into practice. From 1867 to 1886 he ran a Mind Cure Sanitarium, and together with Mr. and Mrs. Julius Dresser, also patients of Quimby's, founded the Metaphysical Club in Boston which developed later into the New Thought movement. He wrote a number of books ex-

pounding his theories, in which he adapted Swedenborg's psychology to Quimby's methods. He makes frequent use of Swedenborg's terms, influx, correspondences, and spiritual causality. He stated the cause of disease as a discord between the will and the understanding,—a spiritual disorder, and not a mental error. In this he departed from Quimby, while Mrs. Eddy followed him exactly. The normal state of health is maintained by the divine influx, but this is cut off by two evils, those of selfishness and sex-disorders. Through Evans' books the teachings of Swedenborg have influenced the New Thought movement considerably, but the leaders who followed him went back to Quimby's idea of disease as mental error, and the Swedenborgian influence became weaker.¹¹⁵

The next attempt on the part of a New Churchman to formulate a system of spiritual healing based on the teachings of Swedenborg was that of the Rev. Charles H. Mann, in a little book called *Psychiasis*. The author begins, "I believe in the healing of the body through the soul. I believe in the descent of the divine life with health-giving power, not only into the celestial and spiritual planes of man's life, but even onto the plane of his physical existence. This is absolutely non-miraculous, simply a method for opening the fountain of life more copiously. . . . Every disease corresponds to its own evil, . . . lusts and passions of the mind, hatreds, jealousies, etc.—The removal of spiritual causes is the true means of healing,—but a kind of therapeutic method is needed,—the clearing of the mind of all obstructions."¹¹⁶ Thus we find New Church thinkers continually approaching a psychological technique, but never quite achieving it. Dr. Horatio W. Dresser, who has been successively both a leader in the New Thought movement and a New Church minister, in his *Spiritual Healing from a New Church Viewpoint*, says that the problem of disease and the problem of sin are the same, and that it is wrong to take away the disease without removing its spiritual cause. Swedenborg says (D.P.282): "To heal the understanding alone, is to heal from without, . . . and therefore the heal-

ing of the understanding would be like a palliative healing. . . . It is the will itself which must be healed." Therefore the New Church should not practice mental healing.¹¹⁷

At a Round Table Discussion in 1900 the question was asked: "Why has the New Church no cases of spiritual healing of the body to show?"¹¹⁸ There are a number of possible answers to that question. The first is Homeopathy. As we have seen, the early interest of New Church physicians in the spiritual causation of disease, was led aside into Homeopathy by the resemblance between the theories of Hahnemann and those of Swedenborg. The second is Christian Science, which brought the whole subject of spiritual healing into disrepute with the New Church. Not only is the absolute idealism of Mrs. Eddy's metaphysics completely opposed to the dualism of Swedenborg, for whom both the world of spirit and the world of matter are equally real, but her claims to divine inspiration are naturally repellent to a church which has its *own* divinely inspired founder. But the fact remains that in the teachings of Swedenborg is to be found the basis for a new and thoroughly scientific method of spiritual healing.

CHAPTER VII

THE GENERAL CONVENTION

The ecclesiastical history of the New Church is the history of "Convention," as it is familiarly known, or, the General Convention of the New Jerusalem in the United States of America. In 1817 a call was sent out by the Philadelphia Society to all "receivers of the doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church" to meet together "for the purpose of consulting upon the general concerns of the Church." This historic body met in the new Temple of the Philadelphia Society on Thursday, the fifteenth of May, being Ascension Day. The attendance was small, with only about twenty present from outside of Philadelphia.¹ Reports were given by representatives of the various societies, so that a fair picture of the state of the Church just thirty-three years after the coming of James Glen can be obtained. The figures are as follows:

Baltimore	60 to 70	members
Philadelphia	60	"
New York City	45	"
Cincinnati	45	"
Boston	20	"
Steubenville, O.	20	"
Lebanon, O.	20	"
Wheeling and West Liberty . . .	15 to 20	"
Danby, N. Y.	14	"
Spencer, N. Y.	11	"
Platikill, N. Y.	10	"
Brownsville, Pa.	10	"
Bedford, Pa.	8	"
Abingdon, Va.	7	"

Charleston, S. C.	. . .	5 or 6 members
Lancaster, Pa.	a few "
Madison Town, Ind.	several "

Thus it will be seen that the New Church now has seventeen societies or churches with a total membership of approximately three hundred and sixty, and spread over nine states. Besides these members of societies there were many scattered "receivers" on the plantations of the South, the farms of New England, and the frontier settlements of the Middle West, as well as interested readers and hearers in many places. This rather slow growth was due to the nature of the doctrines themselves, which required a fairly high degree of education and intelligence for their comprehension, as well as considerable leisure for their perusal. It is not surprising that so fine a flower of eighteenth century European culture should have been slow in taking root in the rocky soil of a pioneer civilization. There was up to this time no revivalistic appeal to religious emotions, all the propaganda being of a literary nature. Except for the missionary activities of "Johnny Appleseed," there was no attempt to reach the uneducated. In the *Convention Journal* the case of the conversion of a German woman is recounted as an "interesting and remarkable case of the reception of the Heavenly Doctrines by the simple."⁸

The Rev. John Hargrove of Baltimore was elected President of the Convention, and Mr. Condy Raguet of Philadelphia, Secretary.⁴ This was an eminently suitable choice, Mr. Hargrove being the first ordained minister of the American New Church, and Mr. Raguet one of its most able and prominent laymen.⁵ It was decided to hold conventions annually, thus laying the foundations of a permanent organization and centralized control over the far-flung groups comprising the New Jerusalem. The first question of importance was the necessity for regulating ordinations, and a committee of clergy was appointed to look into the matter and report at the next convention. The second question, that of raising funds for the support of a "missionary min-

ister," was also postponed, but it is significant that from the beginning the Convention has regarded missionary work as one of its important functions. The third matter to come up was that of a sect called Halcyonists, or Halcyonites, and their relation to the New Church. This sect had been started by a Mr. Sergeant, who was familiar with some of the writings of Swedenborg, but had no connection whatever with the New Church. Along with a garbled Swedenborgianism he taught the dangerous doctrine that "Since it has been openly declared and made known to the Church, by Christ himself, that all power in heaven and in the earth (that is, all authority in Church and State) is given into his hands, it is unlawful, in the sight of God, for the Saint to acknowledge any other visible political Head." All connection with this radical sect was formally repudiated by the Convention.⁶

The Second Convention was held in Baltimore the following year, the same officers being reelected. Concerning the matter of ordinations it was decided to require the joint sanction of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Societies. The Committee cautioned against allowing the laity to preach and administer the sacraments. Another committee was appointed to draw up a catechism for the instruction of children.⁷ There was no Convention held in 1819 due to an epidemic of yellow fever in Baltimore and New York,⁸ but the Third Convention met in Philadelphia in 1820. The statistics for this year give twelve societies, eight ordained ministers, and about two hundred and thirty members.⁹ Whether this indicates an actual decline since 1817, or merely a more accurate reckoning, it is impossible to say. The *Convention Journal* states: "The apparent means of propagating the Doctrines have been straitened by the difficulties of the times,"¹⁰ referring either to the yellow fever or the financial depression, or both. From this time on, however, almost to the end of the century, the growth of the New Church was steady. The geographical spread is shown in the list of societies entitled to representation in the Convention. In 1833 these were:

Maine: Bath, Gardiner, Portland.

Massachusetts: Boston, Bridgewater, East, North, and West Bridgewater, Abington.

New York: New York City, Riverhead, L. I., Danby, Henderson.

Pennsylvania: Philadelphia First and Second Societies, Frankford, Lancaster, Bedford, Leraysville, and Delaware County.

Maryland: Baltimore, and Abingdon, Va.

Ohio: Cincinnati, Steubenville, Dayton, Lebanon, Bainbridge.¹¹

The growth of the New Church by decades appears in the following table:¹²

<i>Societies</i>	<i>Ordained ministers</i>	<i>Members</i>
1820 . . . 12	8	230
1830 . . . 28	16	500
1840 . . . 26	20	850
1850 . . . 54	32	1,450
1860 . . . 64	42	2,550
1870 . . . 90	68	4,150
1880 . . . 94	94	5,100
1890 . . . 154	119	7,095

By 1830 there was an intense and active interest in missionary work, especially in the Middle West where the New Church took on a more evangelical character than in the East. The New Jerusalem Missionary Society, organized this year, led two years later to a meeting in Cincinnati of the "First General Convention of the Receivers of the Doctrines of the New Jerusalem West of the Allegheny Mountains," or more simply, the "Western Convention."¹³ The formation of such a "district convention" had been recommended to the western brethren by the General Convention in 1822, because of the difficulties of sending delegates so far.¹⁴ It was intended that the district conventions should deal with matters of merely local importance and send delegates to the General Convention. In 1835 the Massa-

chusetts Association was founded in accordance with this plan, and the Maine Association the following year.¹⁵ The interest in missionary work culminated in 1833 in the election of a Missionary and Tract Board of twelve members, which undertook the support of first one, and then two, traveling missionary ministers. This marks the beginning of the Convention's policy of employing a regular staff of workers in the home mission field.¹⁶ The appointment in 1839 of a Committee on Foreign Correspondence is the first expression of the interest in the New Church in Europe which later developed into foreign missionary work.¹⁷

As we have seen, the principal medium of propaganda of the New Church has always been the printed word, and in 1853 the General Convention voted to buy the *New Jerusalem Magazine* for an official organ. The same editorial staff, consisting of Caleb Reed, Theophilus Parsons, and Sampson Reed, continued in office, and the place of publication remained as before, the Bookstore of Otis Clapp,¹⁸ in Boston. By this time the center of power in the Convention had shifted from Philadelphia to Boston, and the New England group were formulating all its policies. Two years later a Board of Publication was appointed, and a weekly newspaper, the *New Jerusalem Messenger*, issued its first number with the appropriate caption: "Behold, I bring you tidings of great joy."¹⁹ There was also a *Children's New Church Magazine*, founded by Sampson Reed in 1843, and now under the control of the Convention. These three periodicals, in 1860, reported large subscription lists, but an annual deficit of \$1,200.00. This same year the Convention also assisted the new German Society, of Baltimore, the first in the country, organized in 1855, in the publication of a German liturgy and hymnal.²⁰ Besides these publishing activities on the part of the Convention itself, there were also private ventures. The American Swedenborg Printing and Publishing Society was founded in New York in 1850 to publish and distribute the works of Swedenborg;²¹ the American Tract Society, founded in 1868, and later under control of the Convention;²² and the Jungerich Fund, estab-

lished in 1873 for the purpose of disseminating the Writings among the Protestant clergy,²³—these three distributed annually thousands of volumes. In 1880 the Jungerich Fund reported a distribution of 32,000 volumes in seven years, the American Tract Society 21,000 volumes and 45,000 sermons in twelve years, and the American Swedenborg Printing and Publishing Society 2,000 volumes in a year. These amazing figures show how greatly the New Church put its trust in the power of the printing press.

In 1860 the Convention extended a cordial invitation “to all receivers on the continent of America” to enter into affiliation with it,²⁴ and in 1871 the Canada Association, consisting of seventy-eight members, joined. The little society founded in Halifax in 1791 by Dr. Russell had but a brief career, and the next venture was in the vicinity of Toronto. Here John Harbin in 1830 established New Church worship in a log cabin. But the most thriving society was in Berlin, Ontario, which dedicated its own church in 1842. This society was founded by Christian Enslin, who came across one of the Tafel German translations of Swedenborg by chance, and was forthwith converted. The Montreal Society was founded in 1861, and the Canada Association the following year. Because of the impossible distances lying between them and the English New Church these societies had never had any connection with the British Conference, and were glad therefore to affiliate with their American brethren. Since 1871 they have formed part of the General Convention.²⁵

At the commencement of the Civil War the New Church was in a prosperous condition. The treasurer reported in 1860 a total of almost four thousand dollars received for the use of the Convention, and almost twenty-five hundred additional for the Board of Publication. Over four hundred of this was spent on missionary and colportage uses.²⁶ The general depression after the Civil War apparently did not affect the New Church greatly, as its members were very largely well-to-do people, but they were, nevertheless, deeply concerned over the conditions, to which they applied

Swedenborg's doctrine of spiritual causation. J. Y. Scammon, the patriarch of the Chicago Society, writes to the Convention in 1875: "The present deranged condition of business, the multitudes of able and willing hands in all our cities seeking remunerative employment for the support of themselves and families without success,—are all indications of such disorderly spiritual surroundings as should powerfully impress us all with the necessity of looking more steadily and acknowledgingly to the World of Causes, and endeavouring more earnestly and sincerely to prepare the way of the Lord in our lives as individuals, associations, and communities."²⁷

The first money for foreign missionary work voted by the Convention was the sum of two hundred dollars to aid the British Conference in its missions in Italy and Scandinavia.²⁸ This support has been continuous down to the present day. In 1880 the Board of Missions reported work in eight states: Georgia, Connecticut, Iowa, Tennessee, Missouri, Kansas, Illinois, and Virginia, at the moderate cost of \$1,568.60, augmented by collections received by the missionaries. The German Missionary Union reported the sale of almost a thousand dollars' worth of German books, and the partial support of traveling missionaries to isolated German receivers.²⁹ The South still continued to be a difficult mission field, though a number of prominent men became receivers, such as Herschel V. Johnson, twice Governor of Georgia,³⁰ and Dr. Thomas Holley Chivers of Washington, Ga., well known in both America and England as a physician, and a lyric poet.³¹ One of the leaders of the New Church in New Orleans was Glendy Burke, President of the Canal Bank, organizer of the public school system, and one of the founders of the University of Louisiana. As a member of the state legislature he was active in the cause of education for many years.³² During the Civil War he was arrested by General Butler for holding New Church meetings, on the ground that he was teaching without having taken the oath of allegiance.³³

The relation between the New Church in America and the

mother church in England has always been friendly. In 1824 the Convention resolved to transmit "a respectful and affectionate address" to the English Conference,⁸⁴—a custom which has continued to the present day. Even the War of 1812 produced no ill-feeling, as may be seen in the following letter from John Hargrove in 1814: "Dearly Beloved, After a long and painful interruption of that, to me, pleasing and valuable correspondence, which has formerly existed between us, occasioned by the unhappy differences between our two governments, an opportunity now offers (through a friend, a citizen of Baltimore, about to embark to your country on mercantile pursuits), of remitting you a few lines."⁸⁵ These cordial relations had been cemented further in 1823 by a visit to England made by Mr. Carll, who preached to the Societies in Liverpool, Manchester, Derby, Birmingham, and London, and had been received with great enthusiasm.⁸⁶ The English Conference also sent an annual address across the seas. In 1833 they describe the condition of the world thus: "Self-love and the love of the world, licentiousness and infidelity, are seen to extend a baleful influence among all nations and all classes of society, and this to such a degree, as in the apprehension of even well-disposed minds, to threaten the extinction of all religious influence upon the human race. . . . We see men, escaped from the thralldom of superstition, exploring with deeper skill, and more profound research, the operations of God, and the workmanship of his hands; . . . antiquated forms are beginning to lose their hold on the framework of society. Men seem to be awakening from the slumber of ages; as a consequence new energies are being unfolded: and there are not a few, who are carrying a system of rigid research into all the affairs of life, moral, civil, and political."⁸⁷

The subject of education was one which greatly concerned the New Church in its formative period. It was felt that some new and distinctive form of education was necessary for the children of the New Church. As we have seen, this movement began in England with Robert Hindmarsh and his followers, and was much discussed from 1812 to 1830.

The following decade shows the same development in America,³⁸ beginning with the establishment of the first Sunday School in Cincinnati in 1832. The Convention of 1835 appointed a committee to prepare suitable books of instruction for children, which later became a Standing Committee on Education. Its first work was a book of Sunday School lessons, and its first report makes a strong plea for both Sunday Schools and day schools.³⁹ The New England societies were deeply interested in the subject of education. Three articles appeared in the *New Jerusalem Magazine* in 1831 by Samuel Worcester containing a very careful study of the question, and in 1833 letters from J. H. Wilkins were published describing his visit to the New Church schools in England.⁴⁰ The first venture was a girls' school in Boston, which later became co-educational. It opened in 1836 and continued more or less successfully until 1843. *Heaven and Hell* and *Earths in the Universe* were used as text-books,—somewhat strong meat for babes.⁴¹ This was followed by others, in Bath, Portland, Bridgewater, Yarmouth, Providence, and Abington.⁴² The famous "Report of the Committee on a High School," presented by Benjamin Hobart at a meeting of the Massachusetts Association in 1838 laid the foundations for a complete system of New Church education.⁴³ But this enthusiasm in New England was short-lived. When public schools came into being they were supported from patriotic motives, and church education came to be regarded as narrow and undemocratic.⁴⁴ Also a difference of opinion arose concerning the admission of "old church" children, some believing the practice to be dangerous, since "children who hear one kind of instruction on weekdays, and another on Sundays, are apt to subject both to scrutiny."⁴⁵ By degrees the interest in New Church education dwindled until there were no schools in operation in New England from 1843 to 1860.⁴⁶

In the Middle West, however, interest was at its height during this period. In 1840 a day school was opened in Cincinnati by Milo G. Williams, president of the Western Convention, and a pioneer in New Church education.⁴⁷ The

Committee on Education reported as follows: "Your committee has no hesitation in recognizing as the first and most important object of this Western Convention, the making of provision for the education of our children distinctively on the principles of our church."⁴⁸ The question of higher education now began to be discussed, Milo Williams, the Rev. J. P. Stuart, and the Rev. Richard DeCharms being the prime movers. The first bequest received by the Convention was the sum of \$800.00 in 1836 for the purpose of furnishing Swedenborg's works to schools, colleges and literary societies, and a few years later \$200.00 was given for the education of the clergy.⁴⁹ But in 1849 Col. John H. James of Urbana made higher education a reality by offering to Convention ten acres of land valued at \$1,000.00 on condition that \$2,000.00 be raised to put up a building.⁵⁰

This was speedily accomplished, and the new Urbana University was opened in 1853 with Milo Williams as acting president, a faculty of four, and ninety-eight students,⁵¹ of both sexes, Urbana being probably the second co-educational college in the country, seventeen years later than Oberlin.⁵² The tuition was thirty dollars a year, and room, board, fuel, light, and washing, could be secured in nearby homes for the modest sum of two dollars and a half a week.⁵³ Col. James made the statement: "We have thought that the crowding of many boys into one great building, of the cotton factory type, living in commons, as it is called, and quartered in separate rooms, is at once unfavorable to their morals and destructive to their manners. We have rather sought to unite them into families of limited numbers, and to draw around them the amenities of home, and to keep them under the chastening care of matronly superintendence. This we propose to accomplish by the erection of separate Boarding Houses on the grounds of the College; to be the property of the University, and under the direct supervision of the faculty."⁵⁴ At the first commencement of the new college a two-day educational convention was held to discuss the aims and methods of New Church education.⁵⁵ At the second commencement the Rev. Chauncey Giles stated these

aims thus: "First, To withdraw the youth of the Church from all influences and associations adverse to their respect and love for the Church,—and to bring them as far as possible under the sphere of her doctrine and life. Second, To teach them Languages, Science, and Philosophy, in the new and clear light of her truths: that the sensual and natural scientifics may be conducive not only to natural and worldly uses, but to intellectual discipline and culture. Third, That the knowledges they acquire may become vessels receptive of spiritual truth,—instruments in their regeneration, and in the development of a new life, in order and proportion after the original and perfect pattern of man." ⁵⁶

In the beginning Urbana was a great success. In three years it reached its highest peak of a hundred and twenty-eight students, but the fourth year showed a sharp decline. Fifty pupils did not return, and the new accessions brought the numbers up to only a hundred and two. The reasons for this decline are not far to seek. A faculty of four, later increased to six or eight, was carrying the entire curriculum from the primary grades through the college. An over-worked faculty and dissatisfied students were the inevitable results, but without an endowment the case was hopeless. At the fourth commencement there were no seniors to graduate, and only a third of the three-year class remained. From then on the decline was rapid,—to eighty-six, seventy, sixty students, until the Civil War paralyzed it altogether. "Truly pathetic, even tragic, is this story of high resolve, lofty ideals, abounding enthusiasm, brighter and brighter promises, then insurmountable obstacles, disappointment, dissatisfactions, discouragement, and finally the grim specter of failure." ⁵⁷ After the War Urbana was again revived. In 1871 an endowment of \$50,000.00 was raised, a college-bred faculty secured, and the number of students brought up to eighty-three.⁵⁸ The subsequent history of the college will be told later.

Though the interest in New Church schools had waned in the east, educational work took another form, that of literary activity. The Committee on Moral and Religious

Instruction sponsored the publication of several works including *Rhymes for Children of the New Church* in 1840,⁵⁹ and *Clara, A Story for Children*, by a Lady of the New Church, in which the doctrine of regeneration is inculcated in the infant mind thus: "I must be very wicked indeed," says Clara, "if I am not willing to act well through one day. And then if I do well one day, I shall find it more easy to do well the next, and still more so the next, and so on."⁶⁰ An excerpt from the *New Church Magazine for Children* shows the science of correspondences "in words of one syllable." "One of you asked me to tell a story," said Miss Leslie, "but I do not think of any that will interest you just now, and besides I should love to talk with you about the correspondences of these beautiful flowers." "That will be better than a story," exclaimed Lucy, "I often wish that I knew the correspondences of the different flowers, so that I might write them in my herbarium."⁶¹ This little magazine was published in Boston until 1869, when it was transferred to New York. In 1880 it was resumed again in Boston. Another similar venture, the *Boys' and Girls' Magazine*, was started in New York by Mrs. Samuel Colman, but enjoyed only a brief success.

In the fifties the question of New Church schools was revived in Boston. An article in the *New Jerusalem Magazine* makes the following appeal: "Our Children: can they be educated out of the Church for the Church? . . . The Church, of whose doctrines we profess to be receivers, is a *New Church*; its religion is a *new* religion; and under its influence, if we really receive it into our lives, old things are passing away, and all things are becoming *new*."⁶² And the Council of Ministers of the Massachusetts Association reported in 1853: "To our children principally must we look for the continuation even of our existence as societies. Collateral accessions to the Church are comparatively few. . . . Our chief hope should be in our own children. Let them be so provided for as that this hope shall not be disappointed."⁶³ This revival of interest resulted in the incorporation of the Waltham New Church Institute of Education

in 1857, and the opening in 1860 of the Waltham School. This school was at first co-educational,⁶⁴ but later became a school for girls only, in which capacity it is still in operation.

Among the many problems which concerned the members of the New Church was that of social life. In some places social ostracism had been the price paid for the Heavenly Doctrines, so that the receivers were thrown very closely together. A spirit of exclusiveness seems to have been the result. "The New Churchman," says the *Messenger*, "when he cannot see a use to be performed to Old Churchmen, will not seek their society; for he knows he cannot associate with them without being affected by their sphere, to some extent, in such a way as to weaken his faith, and cause anxiety. . . . As salt loses its savor by exposure to foreign influences, so do New Churchmen lose something of their spiritual vitality by association with those whose sphere is foreign to their own."⁶⁵ But great emphasis was put upon social life among themselves. In an *Address on the Subject of Public Festivals, Social Entertainments, Receptions, and Amusements*, delivered in Bath, Me., in 1836, the Rev. Henry Worcester says: "As a consequential effect of the descent of the New Church, we see that a change is already beginning to take place: that more freedom is beginning to be felt, more liberal and enlightened views are beginning to prevail than have prevailed in times past. . . . It remains for the New Church . . . to separate the use from the abuse of things. Instead of sitting in judgment and condemning as sinful and wicked [as the Old Churches do] free social intercourse, occasional festivities, recreations and amusements, it is the *duty* of the Church to renovate and establish them, . . . to allow all these natural affections, moral and social sympathies of our nature to flow forth freely, and take their corresponding external forms of delight."⁶⁶ The Boston Society considered "social uses" highly important, and scandalized their Puritan neighbors by giving dancing parties at which all the members over fourteen were present. As some of their members had been brought up "orthodox" and had never learned to dance, a dancing school was started.⁶⁷ Their family life was de-

scribed as "order itself." The day began with family prayers at six, or six-thirty, the mornings were spent in useful occupations, and the afternoons given to riding, driving, walking in the park, or some other form of genteel recreation.⁶⁸

At the Convention of 1846 it was resolved "That a Committee of three persons be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of observing in the New Church the day called Christmas, and to report thereon at the next Convention."⁶⁹ It was felt by some that it was improper for the New Church to observe a festival so intimately a part of the tradition of the Old Church, but the Committee very sensibly decided in favor of the observance. "It is proper that days appointed for religious observance by the civil authorities should be observed in such way as recommended by said authorities. . . . Whether December 25th is an accurate date or not is of no real consequence. The Church needs a religious festival, the children love it, and there is no need to deny them the joy of it. . . . Besides, there is *no need to be peculiar.*"⁷⁰ It was suggested that it would be better to celebrate the Lord's birthday on the Lord's own day, Sunday, for though some people "look upon it as a day in which all joy, all thanksgiving, and all cheerfulness is out of place,"⁷¹ such an idea is erroneous. The New Church did not keep a "Puritan Sabbath."

The problem of liturgy came up very soon and presented many difficulties. It was felt that uniformity of usage would be desirable, but with such diversity of religious backgrounds among its members the ideal was hard to achieve. In England the same problem had arisen, and was solved by allowing complete freedom to the individual societies. Some used the simplest form of service similar to the Dissenter chapels, and others an elaborate form modeled on the liturgy of the Established Church.⁷² In 1788 the General Conference had published its first Liturgy, which followed more or less that of the Church of England, but with appropriate changes and omissions. The third edition of this book, published in 1790, was the model for the first American New Church liturgy,

published in Baltimore in 1792. In the Preface it was stated that "the Essentials of the Old Church,—three persons in the Godhead and Justification by faith alone, enter into every Particular of the Old Church, as the very Life and Soul thereof, by Idea, both in Doctrine and in Worship being constantly influenced thereby," and therefore a new form was necessary for the New Church. "It is not, however, expected that this Form of Prayer should be considered as perfect or complete, much less is it intended as the *only* one proper for the New Church, it being only adapted to the present Infant State of that Church. . . . There will, no doubt, be a Variety of Forms of Worship in the New Church according to the different States and Complexions of Mankind; and this Variety, so far from being any Evil, will rather tend to the Harmony and Perfection of the Whole." The doctrinal position was stated thus: "The Promoters of this Edition were induced thereto on a Belief that the Lord Jesus Christ is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; that on the Consummation of the Old Church, He departed from it, and takes up His Abode in the New Church. . . . On this consideration do we most earnestly recommend the Theological Works of Baron Emanuel Swedenborg, believing that he was divinely *inspired to write* for the Use of the New Jerusalem Church." There are a number of changes from the orthodox form, as in the case of the Ten Commandments, which are given in Swedenborg's translation and division (that of the Lutheran Church), in which commandments one and two are combined as number one, and commandment ten is divided into two, numbers nine and ten. The Gloria is also revised from the Trinitarian form to the following: "To Jesus Christ be Glory, and Dominion for ever and ever. For He is Jehovah of Hosts, and in Him alone dwelleth all the Fulness of the Godhead bodily." A prayer for the President is substituted for that for the King in the English edition, and a special prayer is added "for the Establishment of the New Church in these United States."⁷⁸

In 1822 the Philadelphia Society published the first distinctively American New Church Liturgy, called *The Lit-*

urgy of the New Jerusalem Church, respectfully recommended to the use of the Societies of the New Church in the United States. Together with *Hymns for the use of the New Church*, composed mainly by Jonathan Condy. The same year the Convention brought out a liturgy of its own, modeled on the Baltimore Liturgy, and designed for general use. Most of the Societies, however, continued to use their own forms of worship. The Boston Society in 1829 made a radical departure in its new *Book of Public Worship*, by T. B. Hayward, by abolishing all hymns, rites and sacraments, except baptism, and substituting the Scriptural chants and choruses for which its highly trained choir was famous.⁷⁴ In 1834 the Western Convention appealed to the General Convention to publish a new hymnal, complaining of the unsuitability of the old church hymns then in use. "Many of them are striking and beautiful in point of poetry, but few of them, on close analyzation, are found to be free from the taint of some of the perverted doctrines of that church."⁷⁵ The Committee on Chants and Hymns reported to the Convention that the New England societies had discarded hymns altogether, and were using the Boston *Book of Worship*, that the middle states were using the Philadelphia collection of hymns, and that the Cincinnati Society had published its own. The Committee recommended a collection of scriptural choruses, and a hundred of the best hymns from the various collections. They criticized the hymns then in use as too dogmatic. Singing should be "an expression of affection." Swedenborg says the Word itself has divine power, and therefore it is better to use it, instead of human paraphrases.⁷⁶ This preference for the Scripture itself was now a definitely established principle in New Church worship.

The Convention in 1836 brought out a new Book of Worship in a stereotyped edition of 750 copies at a cost of over a thousand dollars. It followed the 1822 Liturgy in general form, but incorporated some of the Boston features, such as thirty Scriptural choruses called Glorifications, and over three hundred selections from the Word adapted to chants.⁷⁷ The New England element were now in the majority in the

Convention, and able to impose their ideas on the rest. This liturgy is a strange combination of Puritanical severity in the verbal portions, and rich Anglican formalism in the chants, the latter being due to the fact that George Webb, their composer, had been trained as a Church of England organist. There were no hymns in the new liturgy, a departure which caused much dissatisfaction in the smaller societies whose choirs were unequal to the advanced musical demands of the chants, and especially in the Middle West, where more evangelical forms of worship prevailed.⁷⁸ Commenting on the austere character of New Church music, Thomas Lake Harris writes: "The first receivers of the truth of the New Church were English Episcopalians. I would not for a moment disparage those excellent men; but had the same numbers of Wesleyans or Moravians of the best type been providentially made at the outset acquainted with the New Church theology, they would have made the world ring with it ere now."⁷⁹ The dissatisfaction with the 1834 Liturgy continued to increase until in 1850 a new committee was appointed to revise it. In a vain attempt to satisfy all parties they sent out a circular letter to find out what was really wanted, which proved to be more responsive services in which every one could take part. The members of the New Church were not content to be mere "hearers of the Word," even when chanted by the best of choirs. The revised edition came out in 1854, but also proved unsatisfactory, and a further revision, made in 1857, remained in use for half a century.⁸⁰

One of the first controversial issues to arise in the New Church was that of rebaptism, that is, whether or not baptism by a New Church minister should be required for membership. In the beginning each Society decided this question for itself. In Baltimore rebaptism was obligatory, in Philadelphia optional, and in New York and Boston wholly rejected.⁸¹ In a letter to Jonathan Condy of Philadelphia, Samuel Worcester of Boston wrote: "As to the plan adopted by your church respecting rebaptism I am perfectly satisfied. I love the liberality, but it appears to me that you give too

much authority to private judgment, and too little to truth and law.”⁸² In England the question had been bound up with the general issue of non-separatism versus separatism, but in America there was very little talk of non-separatism. As there was no established church, and sectarianism was rampant, the formation of a new sect was a simple matter. Many of the early receivers were forced out of their own churches by heresy trials and public disapproval, so that a separate organization had been the only possible solution. The re-baptism controversy in America, therefore, was based on the conception of the relation of the New Church to the “Old.” The literalists argued thus: “If the Old Church is then entirely vastated, and *all* its ordinances and sacraments corrupt, its offices and administrations having no spiritual life, how can the sacrament of Baptism performed by its functionaries be efficacious New Church baptism? . . . How can it give insertion into the New Heaven to which it is not *conjoined?*”⁸³ To which the more liberal-minded replied: “Now *is this* the doctrine taught by our illumined scribe? Are all who compose our New Church organization ‘purely good,’ and all who belong to the so-called Old Church organizations ‘entirely evil?’ Is the influx from the New Heavens entirely into these New Church organizations? And is there not one speck of genuine good and truth to be found elsewhere? The idea is preposterous. . . . Swedenborg says,—‘But as for the state of the church this it is which will be *dissimilar* hereafter; it will be similar indeed in the *outward form*, but *dissimilar in the inward*.’ . . . Baptism is only a *symbol* of regeneration,—it gives no salvation,—introduces no one into the church or into heaven,—it is only a *symbol* of introduction.”⁸⁴

In the beginning the Convention had recognized as members of the Societies composing it those who had signed the articles of faith,⁸⁵ but by the adoption of the Rules of Order in 1838 baptism into the New Church was made obligatory.⁸⁶ The following year the Ordaining Ministers presented a report, drawn up by the President of Convention, Thomas

Worcester, which stated that the authority of the Old Church to baptize rested on the Lord's promise to be with them "until the consummation of the age," but that now that this has come to pass, as Swedenborg teaches in his doctrine of the Last Judgment, He is no longer with the Old Church. Therefore only New Church baptism is valid. The report recommended the omission of the words "into the New Church" from the Rules of Order, because "when we speak of baptism, we wish to be understood as referring to real baptism; and we regard baptism into the New Church (by the hand of a professed New Church Minister) as the only real baptism."⁸⁷ This narrow attitude was combated vigorously by the liberals until in 1849 they had won a somewhat grudging victory: "Resolved, That though this Convention recommends rebaptism, it wishes to leave the ministers and societies of the New Church free in regard to this subject."⁸⁸ But in 1853 there was a reactionary measure passed making rebaptism necessary for ministers. The minority on the committee brought in a protest declaring "such a provision in the Constitution for this body to be, in their judgment, contrary to the liberty which this Convention has hitherto allowed, totally unauthorized by the Writings of the New Church, and a mournful and ominous departure from the spirit and genius of the New Dispensation, and they respectfully ask that this protest be printed with the Journal of the Proceedings."⁸⁹ The Rev. Mr. Ford, who had been ordained into the first degree of the ministry under the old ruling, was refused the second degree until he should be rebaptized. His letter of resignation from the Convention reads: "This illiberality is presenting the New Church to those who are without in the repulsive features of sectarianism, just when sectarianism is being discarded where it has been most in vogue. . . . I feel a repugnance to the rulings of Convention on this subject. It *shuts up* the New Church, which by it is made to advance an arrogant claim to be the sole channel of Divine grace, and is thereby brought into an ominous resemblance to the Episcopal church."⁹⁰

The rebaptism controversy continued for many years in

the various societies, especially in the Middle West. The Rev. G. M. Field tells of the many difficulties he encountered in his ministry on account of it. In 1858 the Michigan Association for whom he was working as a missionary minister, made it optional and Field, who was an extreme conservative, felt obliged to resign. He was then engaged by the Detroit Society as pastor, but with the express provision that he was not to preach on this subject without stating that his views were not those of his congregation. Field stated his views thus: "If the New Church was a sect of the old, having a faith in common therewith, then no new Baptism could be necessary because there would be no new faith to confirm and testify to. But the New Church is not a sect of the old; nor has it a faith in common therewith."⁸¹ The disagreement between Field and his Society became more acute, until their relations were finally severed.

As we have seen, there were intense differences of opinion in the New Church from its earliest days. There was a strong movement toward centralization of power in the Convention, and an equally strong opposition to this, especially in the Western societies. There were ritualists and anti-ritualists,—liberals and authoritarians. And there were also sectional rivalries, and temperamental antipathies. The first three Conventions had been admirably united and harmonious in thought and feeling, but there soon appeared a rift within the lute,—a bitter, and long-drawn-out controversy between the Philadelphia and Boston societies. The ostensible bone of contention was the "Boston principle" or "conjugal heresy," but there were also deep-seated differences on the more fundamental issues of church government and doctrine. Besides these genuine issues there was also sectional jealousy. The Philadelphia group, which had been the cradle of the New Church in the new world, and the controlling element in the early Conventions, was gradually declining in numbers and power, while the New England group, under the leadership of Boston, was waxing ever stronger. Other societies became involved in the conflict,

New York on the side of Boston, and Baltimore on the side of Philadelphia.

At the Fourth General Convention, held in New York in 1821, the Rev. Lewis Beers of Danby, N. Y., was elected president, and Mr. Samuel Woodworth of New York City, secretary. Philadelphia had already lost the ascendancy, though her views were still dominant. A resolution was passed that ministers should not be obliged to withdraw from their secular occupations, such uses being necessary for their personal regeneration. This was somewhat of a slap at Boston whose minister had no secular occupation. Each society was allowed to make its own rules and regulations freely, though the Boston group wanted a central authority.⁹² William Schlatter of Philadelphia writes of them, "They called loudly for church government and regulations. On this subject we also differed from them and left every society to govern and regulate themselves. 'The Lord has made you free, why will ye have bonds?'"⁹³ But it was over the "conjugal heresy" that the bitterest battles were fought. This extraordinary idea, which the Boston Society had evolved under the leadership of young Thomas Worcester, who was at the time still a student at the Harvard Divinity School, was that the relation between a pastor and his church was analogous to the marriage relation, the necessary corollaries of this theory being that it was an indissoluble relationship, and that a pastor could minister to none but his own congregation without committing spiritual adultery.

The Philadelphia Society was unanimously opposed to such a theory, and began a correspondence with the leaders of the English Church to find out their opinions. Robert Hindmarsh replied: "The subject on which you request to have my opinion is not a new one in this country: a few individuals here and there have entertained an idea that it is an act of spiritual adultery for a minister to preach to more congregations than one, or for two ministers to officiate alternately in the presence of one congregation. But in general this opinion has been regarded as a proof of eccentricity of character, rather than of liberal and enlightened understand-

ing.” Letters of condemnation were also received from Mr. Arboin and Mr. Clowes, two of the English patriarchs, and duly forwarded to the Boston Society. The result was not however what was expected. Mr. Wilkins referred to them somewhat disrespectfully as the “*ipse dixit* of Mr. Clowes and the rant of Mr. Arboin,” and other members were heard to say that “good Mr. Clowes and Mr. Hindmarsh are nothing extraordinary.”⁵⁴ Naturally when the Convention met the following year the “sphere” was not altogether “heavenly.” The *Newchurchman-Extra*, a Philadelphia periodical, laments: “There were no difficulties before the notion of a conjugal relation between a pastor and his society was broached. But from that moment discord and division commenced.” And all the trouble had “sprung from pride of intellect and a conceit of celestial perceptions.”⁵⁵ By this time the Boston group had become distinctly annoyed by so much criticism, and began to retaliate. Mr. Wilkins wrote to Mr. Condy: “That we have ceased to mind, as we have long ceased, that the Societies of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore do not receive the principles which we maintain, implies that we are sensible of evils existing there which must incapacitate them for seeing the truth. . . . The first evil is a dangerous susceptibility of physical influx.”⁵⁶

But a much more serious issue now arose, that of the authority of the writings of Swedenborg,—an issue which has never yet been satisfactorily settled. The Boston group took a somewhat casual attitude toward authority in general. Samuel Worcester wrote to Daniel Lammot: “When Paul tried to show that celibacy was a more holy state than marriage he somewhat transcends the limits of his commission, which required him to preach the gospel.” And in another letter he makes the shocking statement with regard to the writings of Swedenborg: “We read them for instruction, and *not for authority*—His mission should be inferred from perceiving that he wrote the truth, and not vice versa.” Thomas Worcester states: “As to the authority by which I speak and act, I ask none, but the Lord in his Word.” On this statement the *Newchurchman-Extra* comments:

"The authority of Swedenborg to teach truth *out* of the Word, as the doctrine of the Church from the Lord, is at least seemingly slighted, and there is a going by the doctrine as taught by Swedenborg from the Lord, and a drawing of the doctrine from the Lord in the Word *immediately*." A sermon of Thomas Worcester's is criticized thus: "Is Swedenborg quoted in a single instance? Is the doctrine of his writings professedly taught?" ⁸⁷ All this was grievous indeed to the Philadelphia conservatives. Schlatter writes in righteous indignation: "They even go so far as to state in their letter that they read Swedenborg for information and not for authority, and assert that there are many contradictions in his writings. Now this is a sufficient proof that they do not fully believe in his divine revelation or commission. For my part I believe he was as much inspired to write what he did as ever Moses or the Apostles were." ⁸⁸ The issue could hardly be stated more clearly.

And so the controversy raged, though little of it appears in the Convention journals. Only in the periodicals and in private correspondence can the story of it be read. Schlatter writes: "I presume you will be surprised when I inform you that Mr. Thomas Worcester, Mr. Wilkins, and Miss Carey attended our [!] Convention and Mr. Worcester applied for ordination. . . . They communed with us, they preached for us, and Mr. Worcester was rebaptised,—notwithstanding all this they say their theory is correct and they only waive their practice for the present. We of course could not ordain them on those terms. They pressed very hard, and so did the Rev. Mr. Doughty of New York, who I regret to say is completely in their absurd notions." The Boston group added to their unpopularity in Philadelphia by calling twice upon the Rev. Mr. Metcalfe, the "non-meateater," pastor of the despised Bible Christian Church. In 1823 Worcester was again refused ordination by the Convention, and feeling ran high. The deeply harassed William Schlatter wrote: "I have just returned from the Convention held at Baltimore and have been infested so awfully with the poison sphere of Thomas Worcester and his deluded followers that

I am scarcely clear of it yet.”⁹⁹ And indeed so wrought-up was this worthy man that he felt impelled to circularize at his own expense all the societies and members who had not been present at the Convention. In this circular he openly advocated a schism. “Myself for one will do all in my power to produce a separation from the Boston Society and leave them to ‘work out their own salvation in their own way.’” So disturbed was the state of the Church that it was decided to postpone the next Convention for two years.¹⁰⁰

The Boston Society now began to use other, and more conciliatory tactics. They ceased to press their peculiar views openly, and “seemed wholly reclaimed.” Thomas Worcester, many years afterwards in a virtual recantation, said that they had become silent because there was too much opposition in the Church for further argument to be of any use. Then, too, they had begun to see some of the practical difficulties involved in such a theory.¹⁰¹ But as a matter of fact, the Boston Society seems never to have abandoned it in practice, at least, for up to the present day they have never “divorced” a pastor. In the one hundred and twelve years of their history they have had only three ministers,—a truly “conjugial” record. Finally, in 1827, by means of conciliatory methods and increasing numerical superiority, Boston won her point, and succeeded in getting Thomas Worcester ordained by the Convention. The “conjugial heresy” was still rife in the New York Society until 1839, and in the Philadelphia Second Society until 1840, as well as in other smaller groups, but nothing more was heard of it until Richard DeCharms and Benjamin F. Barrett took up the warfare against it in the forties.¹⁰²

With the growing power of the New England group came an effort toward a more complete and definite form of church organization. In 1823 the recommendation that “each society should be represented by a number of delegates, *not exceeding three,*”¹⁰³ was adopted, making the Convention a representative body. Hitherto all the members in attendance had voted simply as individuals which put the controlling power in the hands of the groups in or near the place where

the Convention happened to be meeting. The 1826 Convention appointed a committee to consider "the organization of Convention, and the churches and societies composing it, into some sort of Ecclesiastical Government." This Convention also took over the ordaining power which had hitherto been held by the individual societies. A report was presented on "Doctrinal, Scriptural and Rational Reasons for a distinctive priesthood and for a trine of degrees." Thus did the Convention make long strides toward centralization of power, but not without a protest. It was felt by many that the five ministers and seventeen delegates who composed this unusually small meeting had taken a great deal upon themselves in thus altering so radically the entire form and spirit of the Convention. But at the time there was actually a "trine" existing in the New Church ministry, consisting of six "ordaining ministers," seven "priests, or teaching ministers," and eleven "licentiates" awaiting ordination.¹⁰⁴ In 1833 a list of accredited societies was drawn up, and it was recommended that only societies having a regular form of organization be admitted in future. A body of "Standing Rules" was adopted,¹⁰⁵ which served with changes from time to time, until the adoption of a regular Constitution.

These simple measures aroused an almost incomprehensible furor of opposition, and a definitely anti-ecclesiastical and anti-clerical sentiment began to appear, especially in the Middle West. In 1823 the Convention had received a communication from Daniel Roe, of the Cincinnati Society, denying the necessity for an ordained ministry. This was a straw indicating the direction of the storm which was brewing, and in 1834 another harbinger of unrest arrived, in the shape of a communication from the Western Convention: "We however feel ourselves called upon further to say, it is thought here that no Convention ought to have or exercise *ex cathedra* authority in the Church. . . . We believe that forms of faith and rules of practice are to be derived solely from the Lord in his Word, . . . and each individual receiver of the New Jerusalem verities is accountable directly to the Lord, and to him solely for his belief and conduct. except so far as

he, acting in freedom according to reason, *intentionally* binds himself by the decisions of any collective body which he helps to constitute, and even these decisions he is not bound to abide by, if in his conscience he solemnly believes they are contrary to the Lord's will, . . . for the Lord flows into him *immediately*, as well as *mediately* through heaven and the church as a collective body." Here speaks the free, untrammelled spirit of the Western pioneer, the very essence of Protestantism. They objected further that Convention had become a representative body. "General Convention has ceased to be *general* because it has changed its construction. It was originally a convention of Receivers, but now it is a convention of twenty-seven Societies. This leaves out the unorganized Receivers, who are the majority in the West."¹⁰⁸ But the Convention heeded not the thunder in the West, and proceeded calmly with its task of centralization of power.

The Western Convention, in 1836, began the publication of a monthly magazine called the *Precursor*, "devoted to teaching, illustrating, and enforcing the Doctrines of the New Jerusalem," edited by Richard DeCharms, then pastor of the Cincinnati First Society. The name, *Precursor*, seems to have been prophetic, for DeCharms was destined to be himself the forerunner of a movement which, sixty years later, split the church. He was one of the outstanding figures in the early history of the New Church. Born in Philadelphia, of Huguenot and Welsh-Irish stock, he was the son of a well-known surgeon. His "first and strongest religious impressions," he tells us, were received in the Episcopal Sunday School which he attended as a child,—a fact which is significant in the light of his later theological position. While still a student he heard a New Church sermon by Samuel Woodworth of the New York Society, and was deeply impressed. Later he studied New Church theology with Jonathan Condy, who, though not a minister, was one of the most scholarly of the early theologians. Feeling the need of more education he went to Yale, where he graduated in 1826. Two years later he was called to the pastorate of

the Bedford Society, now being an ordained minister. After two years at Bedford he went to London to continue his theological studies with the Rev. Samuel Noble, who imbued him with the distinctive views of Robert Hindmarsh and his group. During his stay in London he supported himself by work in a printing office. He returned to America in 1832, finally accepting the call to the Cincinnati Society. There he found the democratic and anti-clerical attitude against which he made a lifelong struggle.¹⁰⁷

Both in the pulpit and in the columns of the *Precursor* he began to preach the doctrines which later, as the so-called "Academy principles," played so fatal a part in the history of the Church. A series of articles in Volume I. of the *Precursor* set forth these views under the following titles: "The Authority of the Doctrines," "On the Priesthood of the New Church," "The Necessity of Order," "The State of the Christian World, and the Distinctiveness of the New Church," "The Need for New Church Education," and "The Importance of Hebrew."¹⁰⁸ His career in the West was brilliant, but brief, and in 1837 he was forced to resign from his pastorate because of his refusal to share his pulpit with lay preachers according to the Cincinnati custom. This brought him under suspicion of being infected with the "conjugal heresy," which by that time had penetrated into the West. A small society of his adherents was organized under the name of the Cincinnati Third Society, but was not financially strong enough to support him adequately, so in 1839 he accepted a call to the Philadelphia First Society, and returned to his native city.¹⁰⁹

Meanwhile the Convention was advancing rapidly toward "autocracy and ecclesiasticism." In 1837 the Committee of Ordaining Ministers presented a report containing a proposed constitution providing for a complete Episcopal form of government, with Bishops, Pastors, Ministers, and a Presiding Bishop chosen for life. DeCharms, a delegate from the Western Convention, protested that such a constitution would exclude the Western societies altogether.¹¹⁰ So much opposition developed that the report was referred back to

the committee for reconsideration. The following year, however, it was adopted in a modified form, with the more objectionable features, such as the word "bishop" removed.¹¹¹ The *New Jerusalem Magazine* referred to the matter thus: "There is a fear lest the ministry should obtain too much power, or be vested with too much official dignity. This feeling now seems to be constitutional and hereditary in the American character. . . . A title frightens us, for the simple yet appropriate and expressive name of Bishop . . . raised up a host of objectors."¹¹² The Convention also accepted a report on the Holy Supper which recommended its celebration in a private room, in accordance with the custom of the New York Society, who celebrated it in the pastor's home at four in the afternoon, regarding it as a "social institution."¹¹³ But the most drastic action of the 1838 Convention was the adoption of the so-called "squeezing rule," which required that all societies must become organized according to the new Rules of Order by the following year, or be dropped from the rolls of the Convention.¹¹⁴ The opponents of Boston felt that this was a high-handed measure designed to force a "modified episcopacy" upon an unwilling church.

It is difficult to understand the furor which this simple requirement was the occasion of. Only the minimum of organization, a leader and a secretary, and some sort of formal enrollment of members was required,—a simple necessity now that the Convention was a representative body, but the anti-New England element saw in it the fastening upon the entire church body of the Boston Society's Calvinistic conception of ecclesiastical authority and exaltation of the ministry, and the results were nothing short of disastrous. There were schisms in the New York and Cincinnati Societies. The Western Convention seceded, declaring itself coördinate with, and not subordinate to, the General Convention. The Philadelphia First Society, founder of the Convention, also seceded, and did not return until the end of the century. But the hardest blow was yet to come. In 1840 the Philadelphia Society, now under the leadership of Richard De-Charms, called a preparatory meeting for the purpose of

founding a *Central* Convention to be coördinate with the General Convention and wholly independent of it. There were sixty-four present, mainly from New York, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.¹¹⁵ The debacle was now complete,—the Church of the New Jerusalem was “*divisa in partes tres*”!

The reasons for the founding of the Central Convention seem to have been a strange blend of worthy and unworthy motives on the part of the Philadelphia group. Undoubtedly jealousy of the growing power of Boston, and personal ill-feeling toward Thomas Worcester played a large part. By 1840 the Boston Society had evolved another idea which proved almost as unpopular in the church at large as the “conjugial heresy.” This was a theory that the Convention, representing the Church as a whole, was a “spiritual mother” to whom all societies and all individuals owed complete obedience in action and doctrine. It appears first in an article by Thomas Worcester and Warren Goddard, stated somewhat abstrusely as follows: “When the truths contained in these writings are received, and enter into the life of men, and so far as they are received, the men by whom they are thus received constitute the mother on earth. . . . From the Lord as the Father, and His Divine Truth thus brought down as a Mother, are all they born, who are born not of blood, nor of the will of the Flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. . . . And the precepts of this Father and Mother are to be applied to its life by the general church of the country.”¹¹⁶ This theory might be metaphysically pleasing, but when in actual practice it meant that these divine precepts were to be determined by a Convention numerically controlled by the New England group who were completely under the domination of Thomas Worcester, the whole affair savored too strongly of popery. The idea of implicit obedience to *ex cathedra* utterances from a Vatican on Beacon Hill seemed to Philadelphia entirely too much. In the Central Convention absolute freedom for societies and individuals was insisted upon. Its Constitution states that “This Convention most explicitly and expressly disclaims ~~any~~ right whatever to exercise control or dominion over the mem-

bers of the New Church in their individual or collective capacity. . . . All its measures are recommendatory only.”¹¹⁷

But aside from the personal issues, there was also an important doctrinal difference involved. The Philadelphia group, as we have seen, held the extreme authoritarian point of view with regard to the writings of Swedenborg. In 1822 Daniel Lammot wrote to Samuel Worcester: “For my own part I consider the theological works of Swedenborg as the *only* authority of the new dispensation, and that they do not contain one contradiction or untruth. To believe otherwise is to deny that he was divinely commissioned; and to deny this is to place his claims to credibility on a footing with those of Joanna Southcote or Jemima Wilkinson.”¹¹⁸ At the second preparatory meeting of the Central Convention it was decided to publish an official organ, the *Newchurchman*, in which to promulgate their distinctive beliefs. Richard DeCharms was chosen to be its editor. The subject of New Church education was also one of great interest to them, and in the *Ninth Journal* the following resolution appears: “Resolved, That this body thinks the establishment of a complete New Church seminary, to be under the control and support of this general body, and to be devoted to the education of our children, on the spiritual principles of the New Jerusalem, is a vastly important desideratum.”¹¹⁹

DeCharms soon became the moving spirit of the new body, and went about organizing new societies, and bringing the secessionists into the new fold. He carried the war into the enemy’s own territory, organizing a new society in Bridgewater, Mass., and causing great scandal in New England by celebrating the Holy Supper *publicly* in Providence. He also organized societies in Washington, D. C., Charleston, S. C., and Pittsburgh. The Rev. Charles Doughty, former pastor of the New York Society, but removed by Thomas Worcester, was now president of the Central Convention, and he organized a Second New York Society in affiliation with the new Convention.¹²⁰ The Lancaster Society wrote in their minutes in 1840, “The subject of the Middle (Central) Convention has increased in favor with our society, and

we should be desirous of becoming members of that body if the constitution about to be adopted will leave them in that necessary freedom which in the General Convention we did not enjoy." But with characteristic "Pennsylvania Dutch" caution, they waited another five years before actually joining.¹²¹ A great deal of confusion was caused by the existence of three conventions. The Baltimore Society was a member of both the Central and the General (now called the *Eastern* Convention by the others), and many individuals were likewise members of both, until the Central Convention made a ruling against it. The newly-formed Illinois Association diplomatically recognized and sent reports to all three.¹²²

Thanks to the missionary activity of its leaders, the Central Convention Record of 1842 shows a membership of one hundred and thirty-two, located mainly in Pennsylvania, Maryland, New York, and New England.¹²³ But there was another and less pleasing result,—a rapidly-growing personal animosity between the two leaders, Thomas Worcester and Richard DeCharms. This came to a head in 1842 when Worcester wrote to the Baltimore Society that it was "disorderly" for them to invite DeCharms to preach to them, on account of his hostility to the General Convention. In the letter he states: "He has published things which are not true; he has attributed to them [the Convention leaders] some opinions and sentiments which they do not hold; he has endeavoured to take away from them others which they do hold; he has misrepresented things which they have done, and charged them with doing things which they have not done." The Baltimore Society sent this letter to the Philadelphia Society, who demanded proofs of these charges against their pastor. Condy Raguet wrote to Worcester thus: "The charges against Mr. DeCharms, contained in the foregoing extract from a letter written and signed by you, in your official capacity as President of the General Convention, arraigning as they do his moral and religious character, you must be aware, are of a highly serious nature. If substantiated they ought to exclude him from his pastoral charge."

To this Worcester replied: "In my letter to the Baltimore Society, I did not, and I do not now, charge Mr. DeCharms with publishing or uttering things which *he knew to be not true*. . . . I am aware that Mr. DeCharms is not well acquainted with the history of the General Convention; and that he has attended but few of its meetings, and that he is consequently liable to have very incorrect views of the things which have been done and said." ¹²⁴ The Philadelphia Society saw fit to accept this somewhat lame explanation, and the matter would have ended there except for the fact that the General Convention voted to publish the correspondence, alleging as a reason that "the peace of Jerusalem has been grievously disturbed; and the golden streets of the Holy City have been defiled with blood." ¹²⁵

One of the causes of this dissension was the ghost of the "conjugal heresy," which still stalked through the halls of Convention. When DeCharms came to Philadelphia in 1839 he found many of his own Society, and all of the Second Society, "infected" with the heresy, besides those in power in Baltimore and New York. He at once began the attack, and made his first important convert in Mr. Doughty, pastor of the New York Society. The Central Convention, under Doughty and DeCharms, began an active campaign against it in the *Newchurchman-Extra*, in 1843. ¹²⁶ Another doughty champion arose, the Rev. B. F. Barrett, who was rapidly becoming one of the leaders of the liberal party in the Convention. By 1845 the opponents of the "conjugal heresy" had won Convention over, and in the address to the English Conference, written by Barrett, the whole idea was completely repudiated. "Most distinctly, most unequivocally and most decidedly, no such relation has any existence; in other words, there is not any conjugal relation whatever between a pastor and his flock or church, any more than there is between any one member of the Church and all the rest." ¹²⁷ Thus ended the "conjugal heresy"!

With this bone of contention removed the Convention began a rapid recovery of power and prestige. The Convention of 1845, held in Boston, was more numerously attended

than any previous meeting, and boasted of from five to six hundred visitors.¹²⁸ Under the leadership of men like Barrett greater freedom was accorded to all, and an important change was made in the Rules of Order. "Rules which concern societies and associations are hereafter to be printed merely as *recommendations*. This change originated in the deep and universal conviction of our body that we cannot too scrupulously respect or too religiously guard the freedom of societies and individuals."¹²⁹ Such a change of heart resulted in winning back many of the members who had seceded in 1839, and a great deal of the hostility toward the Convention faded away. In 1849 new Rules of Order were adopted, which abolished the third degree in the ministry in accordance with the general disapproval of the trine in the ministry. The principle of closed communion was also repudiated, along with the "conjugial heresy" with which it was connected, and the Holy Supper was declared open to all baptized persons who are "under the influence of faith towards the Lord, and of charity towards their neighbor." All assumption of spiritual authority on the part of the Convention was also renounced. The basis of representation was changed, each society now being entitled to *two* delegates, with an additional one for every fifty members, up to seven. This gave the larger societies the balance of power over the smaller, and was considered a fairer and more truly representative basis.¹³⁰ The Constitution which superseded these Rules of Order in 1853 was an even greater advance toward local freedom and autonomy. The unit of representation was changed from the Society to the Association, a group of all the Societies in one state, or several adjoining states. The ordination of ministers, and the institutions of new Societies, were delegated to the Associations, acting under the authority of the Convention.¹³¹

In the meantime the Central Convention which had started so bravely on its career had begun to lose its motive power. In 1848 DeCharms brought in his famous *Report on the Trine*, a mighty document of over seven hundred pages, on the doctrine of the priesthood of the New Church as derived

from the writings of Swedenborg.¹³² But this was practically the last gasp of the Central Convention. Its principle of cohesiveness had been principally indignation toward the high-handed measures of the General Convention,—now that this *casus belli* was removed there was little to hold it together. At its Ninth Meeting, in 1849, there were only three ministers and thirty-two laymen present. It was voted to meet as usual the following year, but no further meetings were held until 1852, when the Central Convention was formally dissolved.¹³³ It is important chiefly as a forerunner of future tendencies—a proof of the old saying that “coming events cast their shadows before.” When the General Convention met in Philadelphia in 1849, Richard DeCharms and William H. Benade, pastor of the Philadelphia First Society, were invited to take their seats as ministers of Convention, and the members of their congregation were invited to join the members of the General Convention in the Holy Communion.¹³⁴ Thus the breach was healed at last.

The Western Convention too was having its troubles. The anti-clerical spirit was rampant. At its fourth meeting the following resolution was offered: “Resolved, That, as the universal end of the Lord’s New Church is *use*, and the practice of appending the titles of *reverend* and *holiness* to the names of ministers of the Word originates in the love of self and of the world, not in the meekness of wisdom, consequently is *useless*, to say the least of it, therefore this Convention will discontinue the practice in their records and publications.”¹³⁵ This, however, was *too* drastic, and the Western ministers continued to rejoice in their title of “Rev.” A small periodical called the *Errand Boy*, published in Chillicothe by a group of rabid anti-clericals, stirred up a world of dissension. There were also heresy trials in plenty. The most amusing of these was that of the Rev. Mr. Burnham, who was accused of saying that only a few would be saved out of the Old Church. This made New Church children feel superior to their Old Church parents, and caused family troubles. In 1848 Barrett the conciliator, accepted a call to the Cincinnati Society, and soon became the leading spirit in

the Western Convention. That very year he induced them to change their name to the Ohio Association and apply to the General Convention for membership.¹⁸⁶ After a two-year discussion of the regulation of the ministry, and other matters of church government in which they disagreed with their Eastern brethren, they at last consented to accept the Convention regulations, and were admitted into full membership in 1850.¹⁸⁷ The dove had returned with the olive branch and the Ark rested again upon solid ground,—the General Convention once more reigned supreme.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ACADEMY MOVEMENT AND THE GENERAL CHURCH

By far the most important development of the second half of the nineteenth century was the Academy Movement, which finally resulted in the schism of 1890. As we have seen, its underlying principles had been foreshadowed in the Central Convention, and especially in the ideas of Richard DeCharms himself. These principles rested upon what might be called the infallibility of Swedenborg, and involved not only the acceptance of every word of the theological writings as divine revelation, but also the conception of the New Church as a distinctive ecclesiastical body having no relation whatever to the "vastated Old Church." These are the two fundamental Academy Doctrines, the necessary corollaries to which are a divinely instituted priesthood, an exclusive social life, and a "distinctive New Church" education. After the collapse of the Central Convention DeCharms found himself in a difficult position, and without visible means of support. His extreme ideas and forceful personality had made too many enemies, and there was no place for him in the New Church. His famous sermon on *Freedom and Slavery*, preached in Washington in 1849, had placed him in the ranks of the abolitionists,¹ and a series of sermons on "pseudo-spiritualism," delivered to the New York Society in 1852, had antagonized a large element in the Church who were interested in spiritualistic experimentation. The declining years of his life present a tragic spectacle. Repudiated by the Church to which he had given the best years of his life, this truly brilliant man was forced to earn a precarious living as proofreader and compositor in Philadelphia printing establishments.² But the torch which he had lighted was not extinguished. It burned with an even

brighter flame in the hands of his successor, William H. Benade, the founder of "the Academy."

It was in 1844 that DeCharms met young Benade, the son of the Moravian Bishop of Pennsylvania, who had become interested in New Church doctrine. DeCharms completed a conversion already begun, taught him his own distinctive theological views, and ordained him into the ministry of the New Church the following year. He then installed him as pastor of the Philadelphia First Society, the position from which he himself had just resigned.³ All went well for a while, but the Quaker element was beginning to be predominant in the Society, and Benade's views on ecclesiastical matters savored too much of ritualism and priestcraft. This disharmony came to a crisis over the seemingly trivial question of *where* the cornerstone of the new temple was to be placed, but which involved the whole question of symbolism in worship.⁴ The *New Jerusalem Messenger*, the Convention's new weekly newspaper, in its first number comments on his resignation sermon. "The point that led to the separation seems to have been the use of representatives in worship. The building, the arrangement of its several parts, the position of the altar, the dress of the priest, and other things connected with the worship should (according to Benade) conform to the laws of symbolism made known in the Writings, and which were in use in the Ancient Church. The *Messenger* sympathizes with the importance of outward forms, but thinks Mr. Benade was wrong in wanting to make them binding. They are not the prime essentials of religion, and should be a matter of taste, rather than of precept."⁵ The comment of the *New Jerusalem Magazine* is more caustic. "Mr. Benade has, in more than one instance, given the authority of law to the mere incidental mention of things by Swedenborg. This is not only unsafe, but utterly inadmissible. By this means we could prove almost anything,—even the greatest absurdities."⁶ It was this literalness of interpretation of Swedenborg which now became the burning issue in the Church.

About this time the Convention began to lose its en-

thusiasm for "New Church education." In his presidential address in 1855 Thomas Worcester said: "The object [education] is undoubtedly a good one; but I conceive that it is not one of the proper objects of the Convention." He went on to recommend that the Committee on Education be abolished, as secular education was properly a "use" of the state and not of the Church.⁷ Benade, on the contrary, had been imbued by DeCharms with a great enthusiasm for the cause. Also he had taught in the Moravian Nazareth Academy for six years, teaching being considered a necessary part of preparation for the ministry by the Moravians. When he left the Philadelphia First Society a number of his admirers went with him, and founded another Society with a church on Cherry St. The new Society definitely accepted education as a function of the Church, and erected a fine school building in connection with the church. The Cherry St. School was in operation from 1856 to 1861 with an average of thirty pupils, but was discontinued mainly on account of the Civil War. Benade had been offered the general agency for the new university at Urbana, a position which involved the raising of funds, but had refused on the ground that a New Church School should be under the control of the ministry, and not of a mixed board including laymen, as was Urbana. When his friend, the Rev. J. P. Stuart, professor of philosophy at Urbana, wrote to him for advice on suitable text-books, his reply was characteristic: "There are none. You must make them; for it is clear that the Old Church cannot furnish *even* scientific text-books for our children."⁸

Stuart had gone to Urbana to live in 1849, and it was his influence, together with that of DeCharms, which had been largely instrumental in inducing Col. James to give the land for a New Church college, and when the college was opened he struggled valiantly, but in vain, to make it "distinctively New Church." The policy from the beginning was to admit students from other churches, and to make the study of doctrine optional. In 1865 his department of philosophy,—the only distinctively New Church department,—was "dispensed with," and he was made general agent for the institution.

In 1859 he recorded his disappointment in his diary: "It is now ten years since I came to Urbana and set on foot this movement, and I then determined to give ten years of my life to this cause. The ten years are passed and the result is before us: 1. A New Church College is demanded; the time has come. 2. Students are ready. 3. Money is ready to give an endowment. 4. We have neither students nor money, . . . because we are unworthy of both. We have begun wrong." Thereupon he resigned.⁹

In 1855 Benade and the Rev. N. C. Burnham made an unsuccessful attempt to revive the Central Convention, but its former members were now split into two camps, Benade's followers, and their opponents, the anti-ecclesiastical Quaker element,—and nothing came of it.¹⁰ Also by this time Richard DeCharms had become convinced that affiliation with the General Convention was advisable, and so in 1857 the Cherry St. Society was received by the General Convention at Benade's own request.¹¹ The following year they joined the Pennsylvania Association, which had been founded in 1845 in opposition to the Central Convention by those societies still loyal to the General Convention. It was not long before the influence of Benade began to be felt in the Association. In 1861 they accepted a Report on the Nature of Swedenborg's Illumination which declared for full Revelation. This was the first official recognition of the Academy doctrine of the infallibility of the Writings. The following year they adopted a constitution providing for a trine in the ministry as laid down in the teachings of Swedenborg. This was of course contrary to the policy of the Convention, which had abolished the third degree in the ministry in 1849. The Philadelphia Second Society were dissatisfied with the new constitution, and withdrew in 1864. They were received into the Convention as an isolated Society, which was regarded by the Pennsylvania Association as an act of condemnation upon them. They maintained that "the action of the General Convention in relation to this affair was altogether disorderly, a direct violation of its own Constitution, and of the law of charity given by the Lord for the general gov-

ernment of His Church, and was both unjust and discourteous to the Pennsylvania Association." Meanwhile the constituency of the Association was gradually changing. Both the Philadelphia Second and Third Societies had dropped out, as well as the Frankford Society, but the Allentown, Erie, and Philadelphia German Societies had come in. And all the while Benade's influence was steadily increasing.¹²

The first use of the word "Academy" appears in a letter from Stuart to Benade in 1859. "You are right about the Academy and you may consider me with you. You will please say to the others associated with you that I accept the plan as a principle, and tend to them my sincere thanks for the trust imposed in me." The plan referred to was the establishment of an Academy in the form of an inner circle of scholars devoted to the study of Swedenborg's writings, the propagation of their belief in their divine origin, and the training of young men for the priesthood. Benade had suggested the making of a digest of the Writings, and Stuart added "a system of mental and spiritual training; the translation of the Word and the Writings; plans for temples and tabernacles; an organ of science; a system of propaganda and catholic basis for the Church" as proper uses for the Academy. The original group consisted of Benade and Stuart, N. C. Burnham, Thomas Wilkes, J. R. Hibbard and R. L. Tafel, who were joined later by Frank Sewall, J. C. Ager, and Samuel H. Warren—(the last three, though sympathetic to the Academy, remained loyal to the Convention). They also called themselves the "Harmony." In 1864 Benade moved to Pittsburgh to take the pastorate there, and Stuart, who since his resignation from Urbana had held the position of editor of the *Messenger*, was transferred to the mission field. But R. L. Tafel carried out the Academy idea by producing a book on *Swedenborg, the Philosopher and Man of Science*, a collection of testimonies by well-known people to his eminence in various fields of scholarship.¹³ Of this Benade wrote enthusiastically: "The Academy lives—it is—it exists, . . . is he not an Academician? The Academy must sustain him." He then proposed raising funds in the

Convention for sending Tafel to Sweden to copy the Swedenborg manuscripts. "This is work for the Academy—preparatory and formative work, and will most certainly lead to the College for Priests."¹⁴ This intense interest in scholarship,—theological, philosophical, and scientific,—was characteristic of the Academy from the start, and has produced a kind of New Church Scholasticism.

The Convention also was beginning to feel the need of some systematic training for the ministry, and in 1865 a Committee was appointed to consider the matter, with Stuart as chairman. In a letter to Benade he says: "I proposed a college for the education of priests located near New York, with Mr. Benade at the head of it. This was a bold push and was received with seeming favor, but nothing definite." The favor was evidently only "seeming" after all, for two years later a Theological School was established at Waltham under the protecting guidance of the New England group,¹⁵ but as an attempt at a compromise, four of the Academy group were included in the faculty. The course was only eight weeks, and there were fourteen lecturers to cover such subjects as "The Ancient Church," "Degrees and Correspondences," "History of Doctrine," "Philology," as well as the inevitable Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. The compromise was not a success, and it was evident that the two conflicting schools of theology represented by the Boston group and the "Academy" could not exist together in one institution. Therefore when the first session was over the members of the "Harmony" were not asked to repeat their courses. The school was reorganized with a small faculty under the presidency of Thomas Worcester. Once more Boston had triumphed over Philadelphia.¹⁶

The question of the priesthood was much discussed in the early seventies. Thomas Worcester, in a report to the Convention, writes: "There were two parties in the Old Church, those for and those against priests. These two parties were our ancestors, and we inherit their prejudices. Most of us, however, are descended from that party which was opposed to the Priesthood, the Priests, and the grades in the Priest-

hood; and the prejudices which we inherit from them are what most demand our present attention. We believed in ministers, but not in a priesthood, regarding it as filled with pride and pomp and love of domineering. But when we began to read the Heavenly Doctrines, we found that they spoke of the Priesthood, with its different grades, and of Priests to occupy them, as of Divine Order, and as means appointed to the salvation of men." And this was indeed the crux of the difficulty. Swedenborg had used terms which were painful to the Protestant prejudices of the New Church in America. Only in Pennsylvania, where the background had been largely Episcopalian, Huguenot, or Lutheran, was the idea of a priesthood acceptable, and even here there was protest from the Quaker element. It is little wonder that the annals of the New Church are filled with controversy. In 1875 the Committee on Ecclesiastical Affairs brought in a report written by Benade, which was accepted, but never acted upon. It recommended a trine, with a third, or governmental office to be called an episcopal office. The Convention was to be governed by a presiding Bishop and an Ecclesiastical Council composed only of Bishops and Pastors, the laity being completely deprived of power. The report states: "The New Church is an internal spiritual Church, of which Israel was the external representative. It is not, however, an internal Church without an external; but an internal Church in its own corresponding external; a full, complete and true Church, in which the internal appears in the external, and is represented therein. . . . In the passage from the *True Christian Religion* under consideration, it is said that the Lord abrogated the representatives which were all external. This may sound like a contradiction, but that cannot be. It means that *some* were abrogated, the *entirely external* rites and ceremonies."¹⁷

This point of view was greatly emphasized by Benade and his followers. "The officers of the Academy are governors—priests—we must insist on the priestly government of the Church," he writes. Stuart sees the "Harmony" as an inner circle, "the heart and lungs" of the larger body. "From the

beginning of the Harmony," he writes, "I have felt the want of a body that every one can see, as well as the heart and lungs that they cannot see." Here begins to appear that esoteric quality which soon made the Academy an object of suspicion to less mystically minded New Churchmen. The idea of going to the Convention for financial backing seemed dangerous to Mr. Hibbard. "I am not so hopeful as you seem to be about our being able to keep the matter under our control. The Convention, you say, must be our 'base of supplies,' and as a necessary consequence you throw the control of the matter into the hands of the Convention." Mr. Ager's opinion was much the same. "I think you underrate the faith which many of the best men in the Church have in the Convention. . . . There is a strong desire to have all the uses of the Church placed under the control of the Convention. Would you organize the Academy and make it known to the Church as an instrument for performing these uses? Then the question will arise, Why do you not work in and through the Convention? And will not the plain truthful answer to this mark the beginning of antagonism between the two bodies? Shall we say—what is the truth—that we are trying the experiment of working outside the Convention because we find we cannot work efficiently in it? I do not see how the Academy can be 'a separate though related body' because it proposes to undertake *a part* at least of the work which the Convention proposes to do. In fact, if the Academy undertakes to do *all* that it may in its complete organization, what will be left to the Convention? If it should regulate the organization of the ministry, why not ordain? If it should educate priests why not set them at work? If it would teach principles of Church order which the Convention will not sanction, will it not have to publish for itself?"¹⁸ One, at least, saw clearly what must be the inevitable result of the Academy movement.

In his Pittsburgh pastorate Benade succeeded in building up a strong following among the young laymen of his congregation, and inspiring them with his own enthusiasm for the cause. In 1874 a sum of money was contributed to the

still non-existent "Academy," and the following year, at a preliminary meeting in New York City, the name, "Academy of the New Church," was adopted. Those present were Benade, Burnham, Stuart, Hibbard, and Warren, representing the clergy, and John Pitcairn and Walter C. Childs, of Pittsburgh, representing the laity. The purpose of the new organization was openly declared to be instruction within the New Church, and a sum of \$200.00 appropriated to enable a certain student at Urbana who did not want to go to Waltham for his theological training, to come to Mr. Benade and Mr. Burnham instead. This was the beginning of the Academy's long-desired "college of priests." By 1876 there were two young men in Philadelphia, three in New York, and one in Chicago, studying under members of the Academy. Appropriations were made to pay for their tuition, and living expenses when necessary. Mr. Stuart wrote in 1877: "We have now in the Academy nine theological students, more than Waltham ever had." Naturally these developments caused a stir in the Church. "It became known during the ministers' conference," writes Hibbard, "that there was in Pennsylvania an institution for educating young men for the ministry. I was asked, How is it that our unknown company of gentlemen in Pennsylvania had more students than Waltham and Urbana combined?" Dr. Hibbard, who was a trustee of Urbana, and also a member of the Waltham board, was forced to reply in somewhat uncomplimentary terms regarding these two institutions, and suggested that some sort of coöperation and exchange of teachers be worked out between the three schools.¹⁹

The meeting at which the Academy of the New Church was at last formally founded took place in Philadelphia on the nineteenth of June, 1876, with twelve men present. Concerning its purpose Bishop William F. Pendleton writes: "We were convinced that we had a mission to perform and a message to give,—a message which we believed the majority of New Churchmen would receive when rationally presented. We had come to see something new in the Writings but little realized before,—a glad message which would

be gladly received. There was a sincere belief that members of the New Church in America, in England, and in the world at large, would be able to see what we saw in the Writings, namely, that the Lord Himself appears in them in His Second Coming, speaking to the New Church and teaching that those Writings are the very Divine Truth itself, the very Word of God; and in addition that the men of these bodies would see clearly with us what revelation teaches concerning the vastated state of the Christian world—that few of a mature adult age will ever be willing to see the light of the new truth now given to mankind; that His new light will be received, and can be received only by the young or those as yet in the spring of early manhood, before the formative period of life is passed. For the Doctrine teaches and experience has shown that few in ripe adult age will receive the truths now revealed from heaven. Therefore we must look elsewhere for a spiritual supply. It was therefore decided to address the Church on these two fundamentals of Revelation, involving many important particulars; and so an internal propaganda was determined upon and announced by the Chancellor [Benade] as the policy of the Academy—a phrase frequently used at that time by him in addresses, and in the inauguration of new members into the body, and accepted by all its members with enthusiasm, as expressive of the hope of a unified upbuilding of the New Church on earth.”²⁰

The methods of this “internal propaganda” were to be the publication of a serial called *Words for the New Church*, the establishment of a Theological School, and of day schools for children. Like the Swedenborg Printing and Publishing Society of New York, organized some years previously, the Academy was entirely independent of the Convention. In fact, until its application for a state charter in 1877, its existence was practically unknown to the Church in general. There was, however, in the minds of its founders no idea or intention of a complete separation from the main body of the Church, though this was the inevitable result. Friction

soon began to develop. The Rev. William F. Pendleton was forced to resign from his pastorate in the Philadelphia First Society on account of Academy teaching, and many of his followers went over to Mr. Tafel's German Society. This was now reorganized as the Society of the Advent, and began to hold its meetings in the old Cherry St. School.²¹ Pendleton accepted a call to the West Side Society in Chicago, and began an active Academy propaganda, including a class of young people for the study of Hebrew, and *Conjugial Love*, and a day school for New Church children. In 1880 a visit from Benade strengthened the group in their Academy principles, and brought about a rupture with the other Chicago New Churchmen.²²

In the meantime the Academy had gathered together its scattered theological students in the basement of the Cherry St. School, a building dedicated thirty-one years before to the cause of New Church education by Benade himself. The faculty consisted of Chancellor Benade, Vice-Chancellor Stuart, and Professors Burnham and Tafel. At the formal opening in 1877 the Rev. Frank Sewall, president of Urbana, was the guest of honor. There were eight students in residence the first year. It soon became apparent that the students were deficient in general education, and so the following year they were all demoted into college work to make up their missing subjects before being allowed to go on with the theological course. Great stress was laid on the study of Hebrew, and singing in Hebrew became an important feature of the curriculum. The Chancellor had secured some Hebrew music books in Paris, and the Vice-Chancellor writes: "Our students went into the Hebrew singing with such a hearty good will that we were all amazed. There must indeed be an influx from these divine forms which we cannot transfer into English." At the second commencement, in 1879, two A.B. degrees were bestowed, and the following year the degree of Bachelor of Theology was conferred on the Rev. R. J. Tilson of London who had submitted his scholastic records, and sermons to the faculty.

This caused a furor in the English New Church and much unfavorable comment in their periodical, *Morning Light*, as well as in the *Messenger*.²³

There now occurred in the Convention a series of events destined to have far-reaching consequences. The reaction against the domination of the New England group had taken the form of a demand for greater freedom for the individual Associations to regulate their own affairs,—a sort of “states rights” movement. In 1882 a new ruling was passed allowing the separate Associations “to make such specific rules under the general rules for the regulation of the ministry as they may consider necessary or desirable.”²⁴ This opened the way for the episcopal form of government which Benade’s followers considered necessary, and they were quick to seize the opportunity. The following year a resolution was passed in the Convention which, despite its innocuous appearance, was destined to lead to revolutionary results. “Whereas, the New Church claims to be a spiritual Church, and ought to regard all questions relating to the organization of the Church from a spiritual point of view, and all the relations of individuals to Societies, and of Societies to Associations as essentially spiritual; and . . . Whereas, the laws of charity also demand that Societies of the New Church should be left in entire freedom to choose their immediate social and spiritual relationships as may be most congenial to themselves therefore Resolved, That while for convenience, or other external reasons, it is expedient, and perhaps necessary, that an Association of the Church should have certain geographical metes and bounds, which ought in general to be observed, yet the rule of geographical boundary should not be so rigidly applied as to interfere with the freedom of any Society to choose, from doctrinal, or other internal considerations, to affiliate itself with any Association with which it can act.”²⁵ This extraordinary provision was the result of disagreements, mainly in the Middle West, on the subject of rebaptism and other doctrinal issues, between various Societies and their state Associations, and was a desperate effort to secure peace at any price. It was impossible

for any one to foresee how great a price would have to be paid.

Meanwhile the Pennsylvania Association was not having altogether smooth sailing. Its president, the Rev. Thomas Wilkes, pastor of the Delaware County Society, had become "infected with spiritualism" in the sixties, and a great deal of dissatisfaction had ensued. As there was no provision in the constitution for getting rid of a president, and as the unruly Mr. Wilkes refused to resign, drastic steps were necessary. In 1871 the Association was formally dissolved and reorganized as a new body, with the Rev. N. C. Burnham as president.²⁶ It is interesting to note that exactly the same procedure was again resorted to many years later in the case of the beloved founder of the Academy, Bishop Benade himself.

In 1883 the Pennsylvania Association was reorganized as the General Church of Pennsylvania, with Benade as Bishop, or General Pastor, and in affiliation with the General Convention. It consisted of seven Societies, with a total membership of three hundred and ninety-six. Its Instrument of Organization contains the following declarations of belief: "This New Church is the Crown of all the Churches which have hitherto been on the orb of the earth, because it will worship one visible God, in whom is the invisible God as the soul is in the body. The Revelation of truths from His own mouth or from His Word, by which the Lord derives and produces the New Church on the earth, is the immediate Revelation made through His servant Emanuel Swedenborg, before whom He manifested Himself in Person, and whom He filled with His Spirit to teach from Him the Doctrines of the New Church by the Word."²⁷ This is distinctive Academy doctrine, as well as the following: "The Priesthood is a representative of the Lord in His work of salvation in successive order. . . . The Third or highest office of the Priesthood in this Church, represented by the High Priest of Aaron, is the office of General Pastor or Bishop of this General Church. . . . The second or middle office of the Priesthood, represented by the Priesthood of the sons

of Aaron, is the office of pastor of one or more particular Churches. . . . The first or lowest office of the Priesthood, represented by the Priesthood of the Levites, is the one of Priest or Minister." [The priestly hierarchy so long dreamed of by the Harmony was now a reality.] . . . "This Church, constituting a part of the Most General Body of the New Church in America, styled the General Convention of the New Jerusalem in America, shall consist of all members of the New Church who acknowledge and receive the Doctrine and Order above declared, and who desire to unite with other persons of a like mind in the General Church for the promotion of the ends or uses of its establishment."²⁸

The newly constituted body grew rapidly. In 1885 three Societies,—a circle in Concordia, Kansas, the First German Society of Brooklyn, and the Immanuel Church of Chicago, took advantage of the geographical freedom now granted by the Convention, and forsook their own state Associations to join the General Church of Pennsylvania.²⁹ It was the beginning of the end. Convention now began to regard with a suspicious eye this new body which had set itself up as a church within a church, and friction between the two, now rival, organizations increased by leaps and bounds.

The first serious bone of contention was *Conjugal Love*, which has always been the cause of dissensions within and attacks from without. In England the first attack was made in 1813 by a clergyman of the appropriate name of Grundy, and another clerical gentleman referred to it as "probably one of the most obscene and impure books in the English language." A minister in Bath, Maine, launched the first American attack in 1820, referring to it as "a book fit for no society but that of prostitutes, for no place but that *house* which is the way to Hell, going down to the chambers of death."³⁰ And there were other attacks in various parts of the country, which could not be altogether ignored by the Church. In 1846 the Convention passed the following resolution: "Whereas the manner in which the treatise on *Conjugal Love* has for some years past been treated by persons

who are either unacquainted with or opposed to the doctrines of the New Church has been such as to mislead the mind of the religious public in relation to that work,—Resolved, that a committee of three be appointed by this Convention to prepare and publish, in a cheap pamphlet form, an answer to the objections brought against the writings of Swedenborg grounded upon certain passages in the treatise on *Conjugal Love.*”³¹ All this hostile public opinion could hardly fail to have some effect on New Churchmen themselves, and many began to doubt the book’s divine origin. Dr. Holcombe undoubtedly expresses the attitude of many when he writes: “This is the skeleton in the New Church closet, which all of us are afraid of, and which all of us wish had never been created. The Old Church people and other people have found it out and parade it against the general truth and purity of Swedenborg’s teachings. . . . Independent thinkers who take the good and throw the bad away, in Swedenborg and everywhere else, have no special difficulty about this matter. This man, they say, is here false to himself and the supernal loveliness of his teaching everywhere else.”³²

But the book had never lacked able defenders. When it was attacked by the Rev. Jackson Kemper of Philadelphia in 1822, the level-headed William Schlatter wrote: “Mr. Kemper wished to induce our fellow Christians to believe that our doctrines encouraged licentiousness and were dangerous and immoral. As well might he condemn the justice of the Judge and jury for discriminating between murder in the first degree and manslaughter. Just so does Emanuel Swedenborg discriminate between one degree of vice and another.”³³ William White, in his first biography of Swedenborg, wrote in 1856: “This portion of the treatise has subjected Swedenborg to some gross calumny, which, if sincere, could only have arisen from a very superficial acquaintance with the principles of its author; and yet it is hardly possible for a man to write on such subjects, without provoking the censure of the sickly virtuous and the hypocritically pure. Religious people too often treat the dire sensual evils

which infest and corrupt society with silence and aversion, passing them by as the priest and the Levite did the wounded traveller.”⁸⁴ And now the Academy rose to its defense. From their point of view the idea of there being any “bad” in the divinely inspired writings of Swedenborg was nothing short of blasphemy. They therefore felt it their bounden duty to defend this portion of the doctrine which was under attack, and thereby brought upon themselves a storm of abuse. They were accused of dwelling on the “doctrine of permissions” to excuse their own immoral practices, and a great deal of scandal was “discovered” concerning them by distracted members of the Convention.⁸⁵

In a letter written in 1889 Benade says: “You do not state, and I cannot imagine, from what source your friend has derived his knowledge of the views of the Academy. If a leading member of this body, when in England, ‘recommended scortatory loves to a young minister of the Church whose wife was at that time in a state of ill health,’ he must have done so on his own responsibility and could not have said or intimated that the Academy taught ‘the necessity of scortatory loves.’ . . . The Academy of the New Church teaches only what the Lord has revealed for the use of the Church through His servant Emanuel Swedenborg, *nothing more and nothing less.* . . . In this work, as throughout the Writings, scortatory Love is declared to be from Hell,—whether such love be active *without* or *within* the bounds of legal or ceremonial marriage; that such love is from Hell because it is essentially adultery, . . . it is the *lust* of the heart which constitutes adultery,—and therefore if a man cohabits with a woman from mere lust, whether that woman be his married partner or not, his act is internally and essentially adultery, and his love is scortatory; that, just as external marriages, formed under the principles of natural loves, are permitted at the present day, and exist of common occurrence in the New Church, as means by which man, if possible, may be led from a natural to a spiritual state of life, so under certain circumstances and in certain conditions clearly noted and well defined, it is declared in the work on

Conjugal Love to be ‘allowable,’ ‘not hurtful,’ and ‘not injurious to the conscience’ for a man and a woman to be in a concubinical relation, and this for the sake of the preservation of the conjugal principle, which principle is preserved in those who are regenerating, or who can be regenerated, and who entering heaven, can become angels. . . . Unfortunately for the men of the New Church, the work which treats of Conjugal Love which is the very foundation of the life of the Church and of Heaven, is less known and studied than any other work of the Church. By a large number of persons it is ‘tabooed’ and sedulously kept out of the hands of young persons, and withheld from new receivers of our doctrine. This is worse than an error of judgment; it is actually wrong and evil, and if the attack now made upon us . . . shall lead to a more extended and careful study of the same, we shall be altogether content.”⁵⁸ Thus did the Academy courageously take the bull by the horns.

An attack on this view was made in the Convention, and resulted in the adoption of a report which attempted a compromise between the two attitudes. “Many good people have never thought it right to attend to the subject at all, much less to consider it in the light of reason and Christian truth. They have condemned all lustfulness indiscriminately, and considered any one as already polluted who ventures to point out that there are degrees in that evil, some of which may be pardonable. . . . But does Swedenborg teach that among the ‘extra-conjugal loves’ there are any so mild as to be of the Divine Order? or does he teach that they are all to be shunned, as he says the angels shun them as the loss of the soul and the lakes of hell?”⁵⁹ This compromise accomplished only a temporary truce, and the conflict was renewed in 1888 with increased violence. This was due to a series of articles in the *New Church Life*, a periodical of the Academy founded in 1881, in which questions submitted by readers were answered with a distinctly un-Victorian frankness. One called *The Woman’s Side of the Question* deals with these pertinent questions: “Should the concubine be received

by New Church wives and mothers into the bosom of their families to be their friend and the companion of their daughters?" and "Has a wife the same right of taking another man?" The answers are even more surprising in a religious magazine of the eighties. "The sole fact that a lady is a mistress or concubine ought not to exclude her from New Church Society, for such a person is not *necessarily* more evil than a married woman." The answer to the second question is also amazingly broad-minded. "A woman who has separated from her husband from lawful causes, is not in the liberty of choosing another man in his place, although, if the separation be a total one, and if it become necessary for her, it would seem that she would be at liberty to enter into such a relation if she be addressed on the subject." "It may be necessary for a true Christian to keep a concubine, and herein do we see the maxim exemplified that God looks not on acts but at ends. . . . That such concubinage can be carried on without doing wrong to a woman is evident from the facts that the Divine Writings make it allowable."³⁸ Also there was nothing to prevent the concubine from entering into a New Church marriage later.³⁹ These laws apply to the clergy in the same way as to the laity. "Keeping a concubine is not necessarily a sign that a man is immoral, and is no reason why a minister should resign his office."⁴⁰

Naturally enough this sort of thing brought forth much protest and vituperation both in England and America. An editorial in the *New Church Life* in 1890 which stated that while *marriage* is not allowable between persons of different religions, "there is no reason why *pellicacy* which 'makes a distinction between the souls of two, and conjoins only the sensuals of the body' should not be carried on with one outside the Church" was violently attacked in the English Conference.⁴¹ A group of seventeen of the English clergy held a meeting for the purpose of repudiating *Conjugial Love*, and demanded that it be removed from the canon of theological writings as immoral. The *New Church Life* commented blandly on this occurrence: "It is greatly to be feared that this condemnation like many others, arises from the

false, hypocritical prudery which infests a great part of the New Church through a blind love for the communion with the adulterous, devastated Church which forbids a consideration of the rules mercifully revealed by the Lord for the preservation of the conjugal in this corrupt age, steeped as it is in the very worst forms of adultery.”⁴²

The members of the General Church bore all the contumely which their unconventional doctrines brought upon them with amazing loyalty and fortitude. “If there were heroes in those days, there were heroines also. The assault that was made upon the Academy fell more hardly upon the women than upon the men in certain vital aspects; and the way in which those women sustained that assault, and stood by the men, causes them to be an object of reverence to us to-day.”⁴³ This tribute from Bishop N. D. Pendleton is doubtless well-deserved. The ordeal must have been a trying one, and especially so for the women.

Another serious matter of disagreement between the Academy and the Convention was “the Wine Question,” which agitated the New Church in the eighties. The Temperance movement had begun in the English New Church as early as 1837, and continued to be much discussed almost to the end of the century, but in America it appeared much later. Its chief advocate was John Ellis of New York, the son of a temperance advocate, and himself a total abstainer from the age of eighteen. He believed that alcohol is an “evil use from Hell,” and demanded the use of unfermented grape juice in the Holy Supper. He began his crusade in 1879 with a pamphlet called *The Two Wine Theory*, the gist of which was that in the Scripture there are two kinds of wine mentioned, the “good wine,” which is unfermented, and the evil, which is fermented, and “leadeth to destruction.” There was considerable correspondence between Ellis and his opponents published in the *Messenger*, which culminated in a “Symposium on the Wine Question” in 1880.⁴⁴ Though many New Church people were total abstainers in practice, no general theory on the subject had been drawn from the teachings of Swedenborg, who was himself not a

total abstainer. It is true, as we have seen, that the Bible Christians, the heretical sect of Manchester Swedenborgians who had come to Philadelphia in 1817, had originally based their temperance views as well as their vegetarianism on Swedenborg, and were among the earliest temperance propagandists in America. But they, of course, had no connection with the New Church.⁴⁵

In 1882 Ellis brought out another pamphlet, *The Wine Question in the Light of the New Dispensation*,—and in 1887 a large book, *The New Christianity*, which was the climax of his campaign. The Church as a whole did not accept his views, though many individuals in the Convention did.⁴⁶ His most active opponents, however, were the Academy leaders, and many articles on the subject appeared in their periodicals, based primarily on Swedenborg's *ipse dixit*. “Swedenborg says that distillation is the separation of finer elements from the coarser, and their arrangement as the superficies of sphericles, the cavities of which are occupied by ether. This new formation, alcohol, is less compounded, more perfect and more universal than coarser bodies. It therefore belongs to ethereal forms, which are on the plane of the purer portions of the human body.” Also,—“Alcoholic preparations, varying in the kind, speedily reach the brains and impress the wonderful little glands, whose functions are the production of emotions and thoughts. Ideas flow more freely, the senses are more acute. As the ambrosial odor of the wine greets the nostrils, the affections are vivified, and thus form a social sphere which transforms a listless company into a chatty, brilliant, and entertaining party. . . . Swedenborg says that to imprison man's passions and appetites in the chains of enforced obedience is but to let his evils smoulder, which will burst forth in more irrepressible and direful forms when opportunity is offered.”⁴⁷ Here it seems that Swedenborg anticipates the theories of Sigmund Freud.

In this case the Academy was as broad in practice as in theory, to the great scandal of the Puritan element in the Convention. In the *Journal* of 1886 we read: “During the

adjournment the members of the General Church and visitors partook of a collation furnished by the Society. Wine, both red and white, was provided by the hosts, and a toast was drunk to the success of the General Church.”⁴⁸ And in fact so strong was the feeling against Abstinence, especially in the case of the use of sacramental wine, that it was formulated into a doctrinal principle in 1899 in the following official statement by Bishop Pendleton: “The Holy Supper is the most holy act of worship and is purely representative. Since it has been openly asserted and taught that the wine of the Holy Supper is not the fermented juice of the grape, it became necessary for the Academy to take a firm stand in favor of the administration of the genuine wine of the Holy Supper,—the wine that is taught in Scripture, confirmed in history, approved by reason and common sense.”⁴⁹ This sentiment in favor of the “use,” but not the “abuse,” of alcoholic beverages is still strong among the members of the General Church, who for the most part are opposed to Prohibition on principle.

It was already clear to some that a schism between the two bodies was only a question of time. In 1888 the Rev. J. R. Hibbard wrote: “For a time longer those who constitute the General Convention may continue in a loose way to work together and perform uses. But the time must come when what may be called for distinction’s sake, the Episcopal element and the Congregational element, will organize separately, and work each in its own direction, fraternizing with each other not in forms, modes, or specific uses, but on the general ground of acknowledged orthodoxy as to the essentials of the Church. And were I to venture an opinion I would say the sooner this is done in the true spirit of a genuine charity the better for the freedom of all and the best interests of the Church. There might be then less temptation to endeavor to keep others in order, leaving each one more time to watch over himself.”⁵⁰ Unfortunately this excellent counsel went unheeded, and the feeling grew more and more intense. The Academy had many grievances against the Convention, foremost among which was the Con-

vention Theological School and its teaching. They said the School had been moved from Waltham to Cambridge, the hotbed of Unitarianism, with the deliberate intention of a close association with Harvard. "They teach that illumination is dependent on regeneration, and that Swedenborg was no exception. . . . All regenerated men may become illuminated."⁵¹ Not only this, but the Convention ignored the very existence of the Academy Theological School. They objected also to the *Messenger's* policy of "accommodating," or "adapting" the doctrines of the Church to make them more palatable to modern ways of thinking. And most of all they objected to the *New Jerusalem Magazine's* continuous attacks upon Academy doctrine, and to the slanderous stories which were being circulated concerning their private lives. Another serious ground for complaint arose in 1889, when the Convention was held in Washington in a Universalist Church, the New Church there having been recently burned down. "The offense against Order, of deliberating for the good of the New Jerusalem in a temple of the 'False Prophet,' culminated in the Sunday worship, when the greater part of those attending Convention joined with the Unitarians in worship,"—the Delegates from the General Church held their own service in a hotel parlor.⁵²

But the final crisis came over a matter of church government. The Rev. L. H. Tafel, pastor of the Church of the Advent, began to be restive under Bishop Benade's autocratic rule, and resigned from the Academy with the following statement: "My experience in the last year has convinced me that the concentration of power as taught and practiced in our body is not conducive to good effects." He also said that the Academy was "an instrument for the enslavement of the Church." His specific complaint was that it was an undue concentration of power for Benade to be both Chancellor of the Academy and Superintendent of the Academy Schools, as well as Bishop of the General Church. The disagreement between Tafel and the Bishop had arisen over a case of discipline in the Boys' School. The parents of two boys who had been whinned protested and Tafel backed the

parents. He even went so far as to send his own children to the Quaker school. For this act of insubordination he was removed by the Bishop from his pastorate, and enjoined from preaching in any church under the jurisdiction of the General Church. Sixty-three of his parishioners presented a petition at the Convention of 1889 complaining that he had been removed without the consent of the Society, and asking for a reversal of the Bishop's decree. Benade said his action had been taken under the freedom guaranteed by the Constitution to the Associations, and was not subject to revision by the Convention.⁵³ The dispute was referred to the Council of Ministers, who decided that an investigation would be unwise, but that the Bishop's act in no way affected Tafel's position as a minister of the Convention. "Whereas no reasons are given for this action, wherefore injustice may be unwittingly done to our brother, Rev. L. H. Tafel, in the minds of those unacquainted with the real causes of difference between him and his Bishop, therefore, Resolved, That this Convention, for the purpose of preventing any misconstruction of these circumstances, emphatically declares, and places on record the statement, that nothing in the differences above referred to affects in the slightest degree the standing of our brother, Rev. L. H. Tafel, as a minister, or diminishes the love and respect in which he is held by his brethren." The General Church was infuriated by this direct slap in the face. Moreover an amendment was offered to the Constitution which would give a suspended minister the right of appeal to a tribunal of General Pastors whose decision would be final, thus seriously curtailing the freedom of the Associations.⁵⁴

And the Tafel case was only half of the trouble,—there was also the Pendleton case. The Council of Ministers were requested "to consider what action should be taken with respect to the induction of the Rev. W. H. Pendleton into the third degree of the ministry by the Rev. W. H. Benade, on the ninth day of May, 1888, and his [Mr. Benade's] declaration that with him [Mr. Pendleton] should be established a priesthood that shall be the Priesthood of the Academy."⁵⁵

This was construed by the Convention as the deliberate setting up of an independent priesthood responsible to the Academy instead of to the Convention, and was viewed with considerable alarm. The Council of Ministers reported: "The investiture of Mr. Pendleton with the office of Bishop, though performed by a General Pastor of the Convention, was not done 'by the request of an Association,' nor 'with the sanction of the General Convention' [as required by the Constitution], but under the rules of a body [the Academy] which is not a component part of the Convention. It is thus intended as the establishment of a priesthood or ministry not recognized by the Convention, nor responsible to the Convention, and for which the Convention is in no way responsible. While it appears to the Council that this act is not loyal to the spirit at least of the Convention under which Mr. Benade holds the office of General Pastor, nor consistent with the unity of the ministry of the Church, we do not recommend any judicial action in regard to it, deeming it sufficient to present it in the lights of the facts of the case."⁵⁶

At the November meeting of the General Church feeling ran high, and the question was asked by members of the laity why they should remain in the Convention at all. Many wild statements were made. The Convention was likened to Noah drunk and derided by his sons,—with only the General Church loyally trying to cover its nakedness! The Convention was like the Israelites in disorder, with the General Church, like Moses, trying to reduce them to order. Mr. Schreck agreed with Mr. Whitehead that it would not do to "desert the flag," but maintained that "it will not be deserting the flag to leave the Convention. We shall carry the flag and the citadel with us." After a long discussion it was resolved "That the acts of the General Convention, enumerated above, merit and receive our condemnation; and that we deplore the lack of charity, of common justice, and of equity, manifested by the majority in Convention."⁵⁷ This resolution, included in the Report of the General Church to the next Convention, resulted in the return of the

Report by the General Council with a reprimand. "Whereas, the General Church of Pennsylvania, in its annual report to the Convention, has made statements respecting the relations of that body to the Convention, and the action of the Convention toward it, which are wanting in a proper degree of respect for the Convention; therefore, Resolved, That the said report be referred back to that body, that it may omit from it all those portions which contain charges against the Convention of 'unkind, unbrotherly, and disorderly action,' of 'manifest animosity toward the General Church of Pennsylvania,' etc. . . . At the same time we do not hereby deny to the General Church of Pennsylvania the right of appeal to the Convention in any matter of justice or charity, when couched in proper language." There was also sharp criticism on the floor of Convention of certain statements in the report with regard to the use of alcoholic beverages at their social meetings. The following motion was made, but laid on the table: "Resolved that the General Convention learns with regret from the Report of the General Church of Pennsylvania, that in the social meetings of the Societies belonging to that body, they are in the habit of using alcoholic wine and recommend the use of the same, resolved, that this Convention desires the world to understand that this is not the practice of the Church in general, and believes that it ought not to be."⁵⁸

In November, 1890, the General Church made the final break with Convention. They said that for thirteen years they had tried in vain to coöperate, but that now Convention had broken its compact by interference in their internal affairs. However the grounds of difference were more serious than mere matters of administration, being in brief, "the Divinity of the Writings," and "the true Order of the Priesthood." "Many sermons have been published by Convention ministers, but in none have I seen a simple answer to the question, 'What constitutes the Second Coming of the Lord?'" remarked one member. "It is said to be evidenced in sewing machines, the steam engine, and the telephone and such things, but outside of the General Church of Pennsyl-

vania I never heard it said that it was in those Books.”⁵⁹ After much discussion the following resolution was passed: “Whereas, It has become evident that the General Convention of the New Jerusalem in the United States of America is not in internal accord with the General Church of Pennsylvania, and that the external bond existing under and by virtue of a compromise compact, has been rent asunder by the General Convention, both by the acts of its duly constituted officers and also by the acts of a majority of its members in solemn convention assembled,—Therefore be it resolved, That the clause reading ‘constituting a part of the Most General Body of the New Church in America, etc.’ be hereby expunged from Part 1.88 on Organization of the Constitution.” This resolution was passed by a three-fourths vote, and marks the completion of the schism which still divides the New Church.⁶⁰

The secession was taken for the most part philosophically by the members of the Convention. The *Messenger* expressed annoyance at the wide publicity given to the affair by the secular press because it gave the impression that the New Church had been rent in twain, whereas the seceding body, as a matter of fact, was less than one seventeenth of its membership, and their loss had already been made good by the addition of the Jacksonville Society and the Pacific Coast Association. In an editorial on the causes of the split all the blame was laid on the General Church’s “assumption of infallibility.” Instead of admitting that there should be varieties of usages and beliefs in the New Church, and being contented with a Convention broad enough to hold them all, they had attempted to make *their* uses and beliefs a standard for all, and continually referred to Convention’s “denial of the Writings as the Divine Human.” The General Church had assumed in the New Church the position of the Catholic Church in the Christian world. “This resemblance is shown in a literalism of interpreting doctrine, in an assumption of the supremacy of the Church as the authorized interpreter of doctrine, in the conception of the nature and order of the priesthood and of its function in the Church, and also in its

declarations against the ecclesiastical legitimacy of those who do not agree with it. . . . And we doubt not that the General Church of Pennsylvania, like its prototype, has a mission of usefulness to those who are best served by what seems to us the peculiarly literal and rigid interpretations which it gives to the doctrines of the New Church. Some minds are best reached by that sort of conception of the truth. And to what good this body can do in ministering to such, we are sure there will be no feeling of opposition in the hearts of any of the members of the General Convention.”⁶¹

Not all in the Convention were able to take the matter so calmly,—many were deeply distressed, and sincerely mourned the loss of their brethren. The Rev. Frank Sewall was one of these, and made repeated attempts to bring the lost sheep back into the fold. “That our brethren have temporarily and in outward form left the Convention is, I believe, a step weakening and retarding to our growth into a united Church.”⁶² For many years, in spite of a sinister undercurrent of suspicion produced by the Conjugal Love controversy, relations between the Convention and the General Church were outwardly friendly. Visitors from the General Church were cordially received at Convention, and *vice versa*. In 1896 the Rev. C. Th. Odhner and Carl Hj. Asphlundh of the Academy addressed the Convention on the subject of assisting in their project of photolithing the Swedenborg manuscripts in Stockholm, and the Convention was gratified at an opportunity to coöperate with the Academy.⁶³ And so things went on peacefully until the next cataclysm.

If the break between the Convention and the Academy had been a clean one, based entirely on doctrinal issues,—the attitude taken toward the writings of Swedenborg, and the nature and function of the New Church and its priesthood, things would have been simpler. Many others would probably have gone with the seceding three hundred and forty-seven, and Convention would have been left free to develop along more liberal and less “distinctive” lines. But unfortunately there was no such clear-cut division. There were too many personal factors. The distinctly autocratic tem-

perament revealed by Bishop Benade was sufficient to keep the democratically-minded in the Convention, and the great emphasis on ecclesiastical formalism in the General Church was contrary to the Protestant tastes of the majority. And besides, another issue, that of "Conjugial Love," had been "dragged like a herring across the trail." Many who would otherwise have agreed with the Academy's stand on the divine authority of the Writings could not accept their extreme attitude on this question, and were repelled by their defense of the "doctrine of permissions." Also many undoubtedly believed in all sincerity that the Academy practiced what they preached. For these, and other reasons therefore, not all the "Fundamentalists" went with the Academy,—some remained to form the nucleus of the group now engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the "Modernists" in the Convention.

CHAPTER IX

THE "CONJUGIAL LOVE" CONTROVERSY

After its separation from the Convention the General Church entered upon a period of intensive development along its own distinctive lines. "Authority" was the rock upon which it was built,—the authority of the Writings, and the authority of the Church and the Priesthood. "The principle of authority," writes R. L. Tafel, "is a heavenly and Divine Principle, and is inherent in the very order according to which the universe has been created; and upon this principle the welfare of the Church upon earth, and notably the welfare of the Lord's New Church upon earth depends."¹ With regard to the Writings Bishop Pendleton says: "The Lord has made His Second Coming in the Writings of the New Church, revealing Himself therein, in His own Divine Human, as the only God of Heaven and earth. In those Writings, therefore, is contained the very essential Word, which is the Lord. From them the Lord speaks to His Church, and the Church acknowledges no other Authority, and no other Law."² The control of religious matters was completely in the hands of the Priesthood. "There is a heavenly vitality in an order of the New Church that begins in the acknowledgment of the Lord's Office of the Priesthood as the ruling office," said Bishop Benade.³

The General Church differed from the General Convention in several important features of church government. Its Assembly was not a representative body but comprised all the members of the various Societies who were able to be present. From the start an ideal of unanimity of action was aimed at as the proper form of church polity. "Let us do away with the rule of mere majorities," said the Bishop. "This we have been advocating all along; we have been striv-

ing for unanimity of action. If after discussion we find that we are not near unanimity, let the subject be dropped for the time.”⁴ This interesting form of polity had first been tried in the Western Convention. In a quotation from the *Reina*, an early New Church periodical published in Ohio by the father of William Dean Howells, it is described thus: “The unanimous system supposes brethren to be one, as the societies of heaven are. . . . It promotes investigation, inquiry, and free discussion. These presuppose no opposing or antagonistic parties.”⁵ This principle of unanimity is still in use in the General Church.

In 1891 the geographical limitation implied in the name, General Church of Pennsylvania, was removed by changing it to The General Church of the Advent of the Lord.⁶ At first it was thought that there was no need for a constitution, as the Writings themselves are a sufficient basis of agreement,⁷ but in 1892 a constitution was adopted.⁸ Before this time there was a tendency to divide into two Churches, the General Church, and the Church of the Academy, with distinct priesthoods and ritual, and there was considerable confusion of thought as to the relation of the two bodies. Theoretically it was that of “internal to external.” “The Academy of the New Church has constituted itself a body of the internal Church to perform the use of internal Evangelization; and it would follow from this that the General Church, in order to be distinct and to thoroughly differentiate its uses from those of the Academy, should constitute itself a body of the external Church, to perform the use of external evangelization.” As a matter of fact, however, this differentiation was practically impossible, due to the fact that Bishop Benade was head of both bodies, but all the activity was in the Academy. During this period two Canadian Societies, the one in Berlin, Ontario, and the other in Toronto, affiliated themselves with the General Church, as well as two in England, in London and Colchester.⁹

The minutes of the early meetings of the General Church reveal some interesting points of view. It was decided in 1891 that the field of missionary work should be among

“the simple, uneducated, or peasant class,” as the learned constitute an unprofitable field. To this end domestics should be brought into the Church. “There is a true dignity in the use of service, and all need instruction about it.”¹⁰ This evangelization of the “simple” seems to have been somewhat of a failure, for seven years later in a discussion of the matter it was said: “We have been preaching the intellectual reformation of the understanding first, and repentance from evil afterwards. It may have been for the best that we have done so, since we have now in the New Church mostly intellectual people. But the simple must be reached differently. The Methodists and the Salvation Army have the right method, but unfortunately the New Church has no trained revivalists. . . . We will have to go on with our evangelization along the same old lines on which we have been jogging along for a century or so, preaching to the intellectual class, and if on occasion one of the simple should come in, let us hope that he, too, will become ‘intellectual’” (laughter). “The fact is that the New Church has been distressingly ‘intellectual,’ and with this result, that it has served to a very large degree to develop the conceit of men, and has caused the frequent observation that New Churchmen are the greatest lot of cranks on earth.”¹¹ In the *New Church Life* appears the sad story of an old lady who deserted the New Church, and “made up her mind to go to heaven the Methodist way because the New Church way to heaven was so difficult, and took so long, and you had to read so much!”¹² By 1900 proselytism among both the simple and the intellectual, was regarded as practically hopeless. The hope of increase “will be in the Church itself,—from within outward, not from without inward,—from offspring in the Church, and not from proselytism out of the New Church. The latter mode of increase is hardly sufficient to enable the Church to hold its own in point of numbers.”¹³

This frankly recognized necessity for training children for the perpetuation of the New Church on earth led to the formulation of definite teaching on the subject of marriage.

Conjugial Love, on which the New Church bases its doctrines of marriage, is entirely different from ordinary “conjugial love,” which, as Swedenborg says, “with some is nothing but limited love of the sex.” It is so rare that its nature and even its existence is almost unknown in the world. It is a love which can only reside with one who worships the Lord and shuns evils as sins against Him. It is a union made in heaven and not on earth,—in the spiritual mind of man and hence in his natural or external mind,—and not the reverse. “The conjugial is with those who are similar and monogamous. It is provided on earth for those who from their youth have loved, have wished, and have asked from the Lord a legitimate and lovely companionship with one, and scorned and hated wandering lusts.”¹⁴ It cannot exist between those of different faiths,—“such marriages are deemed heinous in Heaven.”¹⁵ Marriage once contracted must be for life, and divorce is permissible only on the ground of adultery. Separations, however, are allowed for many causes, and may be either open or secret as is most convenient. “Marriage in the Church is essential to the conjugial, and vital to the existence of the Church; without it the Church could not be established and preserved. For the conjugial life is the home life, and if the Church is not in the home it is not anywhere. The conjugial in the home is the pillar upon which the Church rests and by which it is supported; take away this pillar, and the edifice is in ruins.”¹⁶ This true and happy marriage is an achievement, not an accident. It is “a blessing not born ready-made, nor descending ready-made from heaven into the hearts and minds of the betrothed or wedded pair; it is only in its beginning with them. It will, it must, grow, if it continue to exist. It will, it must, contend with evils, which unopposed would destroy it. . . . It is true that we do not know internal states; it is true that we cannot dogmatically say that any pair, however happily they may appear to be united on earth, will be united in heaven.”¹⁷ Even the most successful earthly marriage cannot guarantee its own permanence beyond the grave.

Bishop W. F. Pendleton says: “In respect to the relation of the sexes the Doctrines of the New Church recognize three degrees of the same. First, marriage in time and for eternity. Second, marriage in time for time. Third, a relation that is analogous to marriage. Marriage for eternity is for youth and early manhood and womanhood, and no other marriage or relation of the sexes is recognized in the Doctrines of the New Church as legitimate and according to order for young men, except as noted in the doctrine given above, the doctrine of permissions, and none whatever for young women or virgins. Marriage in time for time, or marriage to continue only during life in the world, is for widowers and widows, and for unmarried men and women who have reached or passed the period of middle age. Marriage for eternity is however not excluded from this period. The relation that is analogous to marriage has been presented in full in the foregoing summary of doctrine [i.e., the doctrine of permissions]. It is not to be entered into with any woman except one who has been led astray from the paths of virtue; and during the continuance of this relation such women should not have dealings with other men. . . . Among the uses of this doctrine are the cure of physical disease; the healing or prevention of insanity; the restoration of conjugal love, thereby bringing back the hope and promise of salvation and eternal life; the lessening of the dangers of seduction and adultery; the diminishing of brothels, and the vile diseases incident to them; and it presents what is perhaps the only hope for the reformation of fallen women; to say nothing of the prevention of certain nameless evils. From the summary of the Doctrine herein given, and the brief considerations presented, it will be seen, therefore, that if there is immorality anywhere it is in the doctrine itself, for which revelation is responsible. But the General Church of the New Jerusalem rejects this conclusion as enormous, and holds that the doctrine is not immoral, but eminently moral, and is a part of the Heavenly Doctrine, which has been given in mercy to mitigate and heal the miseries of mankind.”¹⁸

The question of birth control is not left to the individual in the General Church. “Marriage is the seminary of the human race; in it is fulfilled the end of the creation of the universe, which is the angelic heaven. . . . Anything that operates against the end of creation is a sin against God, against heaven, and against society upon the earth. Such a sin is the prevention of birth in marriage.”¹⁹ “Conjugial love without its companion love [of offspring], its consort love, cannot grow and flourish, cannot live; it is a vain and empty delusion; it becomes like that love in animals or worse: for we read that as the love of adultery increases, the love of offspring grows less and finally disappears. So the love of offspring without conjugial love becomes merely a natural thing, becomes a mere animal love, a love which man has in common with the beasts of the field,—nothing in it to elevate it and make it spiritual. When they are separated both loves perish together.”²⁰ “In nothing is the utter vastation of the Christian world so plainly to be seen as in the destruction of conjugial love; and in nothing is the destruction of conjugial love so manifest as in the well-nigh universal crime of Prevention of Offspring. . . . It makes a profanation of marriage itself, using it for the satisfaction of the lusts of the flesh and the defeat of the Divine End in creating a heaven from the human race. . . . There is but *one* remedy, and that is to regard the prevention of conception as a deadly sin against God and a destruction of the loves of heaven.”²¹ Here we see the *New* Church ranged with the oldest of the *Old* Churches, the Church of Rome, in its attitude toward one of the most crucial questions of the day.

In the nineties the question of woman’s place in the Church came up for discussion. When the constitution was adopted in 1892 it was felt by some that the women should be allowed some part in the proceedings. One of the laymen said: “It is a well recognized principle with us that the husband is the representative of the wife on such occasions as these, but still, when we come to states so distinctly new, it is proper that there be mention of the wives individu-

ally. . . . I think it would be well if all, including the ladies, who are in favor of the new order should rise and unite in saying that we heartily accept the new order of government which is contained in the Journal before us.” This radical proposal met with the disapproval of the Bishop. “The chair does not feel,” he said, “that it would be orderly now to entertain the proposal that the ladies give their assent by speaking in this matter: but would suggest that there is a mode by which they may be permitted to express their sentiments. I mean such of them as are not represented by their husbands or have husbands. The suggestion of the Secretary of the Council of the Laity that we have a song peculiarly adapted to express affection of the Church fits in in this place. The women, who are themselves forms of affection, may make use of this song as a means of voicing in an orderly way their acceptance of this order.” When Mr. John Pitcairn asked the doctrinal reasons why the women might not speak, he received this reply: “This is a general and public meeting, partaking somewhat of the nature of a public assembly, in which, to a large degree the forensic enters, and the sphere of woman is not in the perception of things forensic. . . . The idea of women speaking in public is spoken of in the Writings as not being good.” Someone then suggested that the women be allowed to rise, but remain silent while the men in chorus expressed their assent. There was much discussion pro and con, and it was finally decided that the assent was a ceremony and not a vote. This made it “orderly” for the women to say “we do” in chorus with the men.²² Some years later Bishop Pendleton, with true Southern chivalry, somewhat relaxed these restrictions, and decreed that “ladies may properly join in a rising vote, or whenever there is a strong affection involved,”—as in the choice of a pastor, or of a name for the Church.²³ But on the whole women still play a much more subordinate part in the General Church than in the Convention.

The General Church now faced a real crisis. After the schism there had come, with the new freedom from the hampering restrictions of Convention,—“a period of exag-

gerated ritualism, of man-worship, and autocracy.” The Academy was glorified at the expense of the Church. “Education was put above ecclesiastical and pastoral uses, and considered an internal and celestial use.” This unfortunate development centered around “Father Benade,” as he was affectionately called. But in 1889, while on a visit to London, he had suffered a stroke of apoplexy, after which he was never quite the same. He recovered sufficiently to return to his duties in 1891, but from that time on the naturally autocratic spirit of the old man developed by leaps and bounds. He began to limit freedom of discussion to such an extent that the Pittsburgh Society, one of the strongest groups, seceded.²⁴ The Rev. John Whitehead, one of the New Church’s able thinkers, returned to Convention with the following statement: “Further developments have convinced me that a true general body of the Church cannot be formed where variety of thought and freedom of speech are restricted to mere acquiescence in the opinions of the ruling powers.”²⁵ In 1893 Benade offered his resignation at a meeting of the clergy, but later withdrew it. He returned to London where he remained two years. There he presided over a meeting of “Priests of the Academy,” eight from America and five from England, at which he demanded that the Church be governed by a single High Priest responsible to the Lord alone, from whose decisions there could be no appeal. He then formally dismissed the Council of the Academy. “But so intense was the spirit of loyalty and gratitude to the ‘grand old man’ who had founded the Academy and crystallized its principles, that no steps of a revolutionary tendency were ever taken by any of the leaders or members of the Church.”²⁶

The Bishop returned to America in 1895 and presided over the last meeting of the Church of the Advent. He prohibited all discussion, and dismissed the Council of the Laity. At a meeting of the clergy held the following year he insisted on the right to name his own successor. To the priesthood he granted the right to *accept*, but not to *reject*, his nomination! Even yet there was no attempt to remove

him from his two offices. The members of the Church of the Academy and the General Church in 1897 simply sent him their individual resignations, and the two Churches automatically went out of existence. This was exactly the same procedure by which the Pennsylvania Association had divested itself of its recalcitrant president in 1871. It was also in accordance with the Bishop's own suggestion. At the famous meeting in London when he was asked how a church should deal with its undeposable head, he had answered: “Let the members of the Church follow their own convictions and relieve themselves of their connection with the priest (if he goes utterly wrong),—that is, depart from him.” And so the General Church “departed from” Bishop Benade. Naturally this drastic action was not resorted to without a great deal of internal conflict and worry, and during the period of disruption the Academy Schools were closed and the pupils sent home. But in spite of all the trouble the loyalty and affection of the General Church for their old leader never diminished, all the vagaries of his later years being laid to conditions of disease for which he was not to blame. The spell of his compelling personality, and admiration for his magnificent mind, still cast a halo around the memory of “Father Benade.”²⁷

The reorganization took place almost immediately. On February sixth five of the Academy priests, Enoch S. Price, C. Th. Odhner, N. D. Pendleton, Homer Synnestvedt, and Charles F. Doering, went to the Vice-Chancellor, Bishop William F. Pendleton, for admission into a new ecclesiastical body, the General Church of the New Jerusalem. These five, with later additions, constituted the Council of Clergy under which the new body was to be operated.²⁸ Bishop Pendleton, the head of the new church, was a very different type from the founder. His father, Major Philip Coleman Pendleton of Georgia, had been converted to the doctrines of Swedenborg during the Civil War by Elias Yulee, brother of David Levy Yulee, United States Senator from Florida, and had imparted them to his nine children.²⁹ The new Bishop now found himself faced with a difficult task, for

the fear of episcopal autocracy was strong in the breasts of many. But he soon put all doubts to rest by laying down the principle of “freedom according to reason” for the new organization, and due largely to his wise policies and conciliatory temper the General Church has suffered no more violent disruptions, but has progressed steadily and peacefully for the last thirty years.³⁰

And now a most important decision was made, that is, to move the Academy Schools out to Huntingdon Valley, a beautiful spot on the outskirts of the city. The spot selected was Alnwick Grove, near the Pennypack Creek, and a large tract of land was purchased. The Collegiate School moved first, opening in February, 1897, with nine students under Professor Price. The three theological students came next, abandoning Bishop Benade for Bishop Pendleton.³¹ There now began to grow up a settlement of New Church families in Huntingdon Valley around the Schools as a nucleus. By the end of the year all the Schools had moved out from Philadelphia, and the new community now became the headquarters for the General Church, and the seat of the bishopric. At the first General Assembly, in June, 1897, a hundred and fifty-two members were present.³² The Bishop suggested that no action be taken for the present on matters of government, so it was decided that the Council of Clergy and the Executive Committee of Laymen carry on until the next Assembly.³³ “One thing which the Academy may be said to have definitely settled, is, that the spirit of the entire movement is for freedom,—freedom for all.”³⁴ The somewhat ticklish question of how to get rid of a governing bishop was discussed at length. Bishop Pendleton thought that the Church should be able to both choose and remove its head, as the method of separating from him by a complete reorganization was “very indirect and unfortunate.” Objection was made to the term “High Priest.” “Do not suppose you are going in for three degrees when you are really going in for four,” remarked a member. “If you want a Pope, have him and try him; but do it with your eyes open.”³⁵

It was clear that the General Church had had enough of autocracy.

After this meeting an article appeared in the *Messenger* by the Rev. Frank Sewall, congratulating the General Church on its new freedom, and urging them to return to the bosom of Convention now that they had become so similar in spirit. But the Rev. C. Th. Odhner replied that the Academy's conception of the Priesthood made such a return impossible. The real difference lay in the relation of the clergy to the governing body: in Convention the clergy are *under* the laity, whereas in the Academy they are independent and self-perpetuating.⁸⁶ But the relations between the General Church and the Convention continued to be amicable. The Third Assembly sent kindly and fraternal greetings to the Convention: “We should not be so forgetful as to lose sight of the ties which bind us together as one Church, nor do we wish to do aught that should weaken those ties.” To this the Convention replied: “We are not becoming more estranged, but are interiorly drawing nearer together, as on both sides the love of the proper uses of the Church grows stronger and wiser.”⁸⁷ In 1901 a visitor from the General Church addressed the Convention, “expressing his rejoicing at the feeling of kindness which had been exhibited to himself and others of the General Church who were present, which he realized was not for himself alone but was shared by the organization to which he belonged.”⁸⁸ And the following year there were twelve guests from the General Church at the Convention,⁸⁹—but these were the last. Another storm was already brewing.

At the Third Assembly, held in Berlin, Ontario, in 1899, Bishop Pendleton read a statement of *Principles of the Academy* in which he reiterated the doctrines concerning *Conjugial Love*. “The work on Conjugial Love is a Divine Revelation, given for the use of the New Church. All the truths in this work, from beginning to end, whether concerning marriage, its opposite, or the things intermediate, are laws of Divine Wisdom, given of Divine Mercy to heal and restore; to bring back and establish conjugial love, as

the fundamental of the life of heaven in the Church. To deny the Divinity of any part of the work on Conjugial Love, is a denial of the Lord Himself in His Second Coming.”⁴⁰ And again Convention was scandalized. A certain Boston lady undertook a crusade against the Academy, which resulted in a very interesting correspondence between her pastor, the Rev. James Reed, and Bishop Pendleton. “The laws of permission are laws of Divine Order,” writes the Bishop. “I hold, therefore, that all the laws which govern hell,—among them the laws of the permission of evil,—are laws of order. These laws are all Divine, since it is the Lord Himself who governs hell. . . . I cannot therefore see my way clear to modify or qualify the language to which you refer, namely, that the laws in *Conjugial Love*, 444-476, are laws of order, given for the freedom and preservation of the conjugal. . . . I will state my view of the matter without attempting to establish it here, that limited fornication and concubinage of the kind spoken of in *Conjugial Love*, 444-476, come under those things which are of leave; that while it is evil, it is not the evil of sin like adultery and whoredom, but that it is intermediate between conjugal and scortatory love; and that where the end of the conjugal is present, it becomes a means of leading away from that which is of hell to that which is of heaven. . . . It seems to me most important that this question should be considered fairly and squarely, that a just view should be taken of it by the members of the New Church, uninfluenced by Puritan standards of life; for much more is involved in it than the mere leave given to certain men to do certain things; for that which is involved is the very freedom of the conjugal itself, and thus the existence of the conjugal in the New Church; and this even though but few avail themselves of the leave that is given. Those few must be protected and not classed as sinful and vile, worse than other men, unfit for human Society and the Church. I believe that such a state of accusation is far worse than the state condemned.”⁴¹

Decoy letters were sent to Bishop Pendleton by certain members of the Convention to draw from him damaging ex-

pressions of opinion which were used to secure signatures to a “Woman’s Petition” asking the Convention to sever all fraternal relations with the General Church, and to formulate its own teaching on the subject of Conjugial Love. This petition was never read in the Convention, but was discussed privately by the Council of Ministers, and a committee appointed to report at the next Convention. In 1903 the following “Resolution and Report” was adopted: “We do hereby declare our acceptance of the interpretation of the passages in question which Swedenborg himself gives in the work entitled *The True Christian Religion*, 313, and *The Doctrine of Life for the New Jerusalem*, 74, in explanation of the commandment, ‘Thou shalt not commit adultery,’ and that we further declare wilful indulgence by a Christian in all practices of impurity, including fornication and concubinage, a transgression of that commandment, and to be regarded as sinful in the sight of God.”⁴² A copy of this resolution was sent to Bishop Pendleton with a request that he make a further statement of his meaning in order to clear up the misunderstanding. This the Bishop refused to do, on the ground that he had already made his meaning perfectly clear. The Rev. S. S. Seward now came into the controversy with this contribution: “The essential teaching of the Report is that none of the permissions of evil spoken of in the Second Part of *Conjugial Love* are necessary or even allowable to those who believe in the saving power of the Lord.”⁴³ Bishop Pendleton commented on a letter from Mr. Seward thus: “It may be shocking to him, but the members of this Church *do* hold that it is ‘the duty’ of every man, *whose circumstances come within the lines laid down in these passages* (*Conjugial Love*, 444-476) to make use of concubinage in order to preserve the conjugial. . . . Why is Divine Revelation given if not to be practiced and obeyed? . . . And if a man is so situated, by external circumstances over which he has no control, that he *cannot* preserve the conjugial within him, except by availing himself of the allowances which the Lord holds out to him,—is it not his *duty* to accept the only means of rescue that exists for him?—

Were we to utter in tones of thunder the qualifying clause,—‘whose circumstances come within the lines laid down in these passages,’—were we to insert this in letters of fire between every line we write,—some . . . are sure neither to hear nor see it, but will immediately accuse us of encouraging free love.”⁴⁴

In 1904 Mr. Odhner wrote a small work called *Laws of Order for the Preservation of the Conjugial* with an introduction by the Bishop in which it is stated that the love of sex is at first intermediate, neither good nor evil, but that it becomes good or evil in the degree to which it is determined to one partner, or becomes roaming lust. If it is ultimated to one only, even though outside the marriage relation, it remains intermediate, and may serve to preserve the conjugial. Fornication, therefore, is an intermediate,—neither good nor evil,—for either conjugal love or scortatory love may be derived *through* it, not *from* it. “These are the teachings of Divine Revelation, and for them we make no apology, nor do we wish to explain them away.”⁴⁵ As might be expected this merely added fuel to the flames. The Convention replied with a pamphlet by Mr. Seward entitled: *The Saving Power of the Lord in Relation to Purity of Life*, and one by the Rev. William Worcester, called *Swedenborg on Marriage*, which took a somewhat intermediate point of view. “Many persons doubtless wish,” writes Mr. Worcester, “that he had stopped with presenting this true ideal of marriage; and we may believe that he, most of all, would have been glad to leave the subject there. . . . But duty required an examination of the abuses and opposites.—Granting that an understanding of external evils is necessary to one who would deal as a specialist with this disorder, . . . many will prefer to leave the knowledge to the expert, and will only ask whether Swedenborg supports the highest standard of morality. . . . When Swedenborg speaks leniently of some evils he expressly and repeatedly states that he is then speaking of the spiritual state of the one who commits the wrong, and of the act as viewed from its interior motive. . . . We do not believe with some that Sweden-

borg's treatment of this evil is out of date, intended only to meet the disorderly conditions of Sweden in his time. If Swedenborg were writing now, he might conceivably illustrate by forms of the sexual evil more familiar to the present day, but his principles would be the same.”⁴⁶

All this disagreement would probably have worked itself out as a mere tempest in a teapot except for a most unfortunate occurrence which dragged the whole matter into the law courts of the state of Pennsylvania. The history of this unhappy affair begins back in the early nineteenth century when a tailor from Heidelberg, Germany, F. J. Kramph by name, settled in Lancaster, Pa. While still in Germany he had come across a favorable reference to Swedenborg in a book of Jung-Stilling's, and now he came in contact with the German Swedenborgians around Lancaster, joining the Lancaster Society in 1836. In time he became one of the most prosperous and respected citizens in the town. Shortly after Kramph joined, the Lancaster Society left the Convention, in 1839, on account of the “Squeezing Rule,” and in 1845 joined the Central Convention. It was not until 1865, seven years after Kramph's death, that the Society returned to the General Convention. It is therefore quite clear that his affiliations and sympathies were with the Pennsylvania group who later became the founders of the Academy movement. These facts are important in the light of future developments. Kramph was tremendously interested in New Church education, and when Benade opened his Cherry St. School, wrote to him enthusiastically: “I feel as if it was quite a new era in the New Church of this country to have a Society with a school founded on correct New Church principles; this Society has, I hope, laid with the cornerstone also the seed for a New Church university, or seminary for learning.”⁴⁷ (As indeed it had.) It is not surprising therefore to find, when Mr. Kramph died in 1858, that his will, dated 1854, bequeathed the residuary estate to certain Trustees “for the purpose of endowing a university of the New Jerusalem, to be founded in the consolidated City of Philadelphia for universal New

Church education,” together with a provision that in case such a university was in existence at the time of the settlement of the estate, the residuary fund should be paid by the Executors directly to the Trustees appointed in and by the Charter of that University. The original Trustees named in a codicil were Messrs. Benade, Burnham, Carpenter, Jungerich, Rathvon, Officer, and R. L. Tafel, all of whom, except Tafel, had been members of the Central Convention, and none of whom, except Officer, were members of the General Convention. Benade, Burnham, and Tafel, as we have seen, later became charter members of the Academy, and the others were all Academy sympathizers.⁴⁸ There seems to be little doubt *where* the donor would have wished his money to go in 1902. It is also significant that he did *not* leave his bequest to the University under the control of the Convention, Urbana, opened the year before he made his will, and five years before his death.

Though Kramph died in 1858, he left a young wife who survived him for over forty years. This postponed the settlement of the estate until 1902. In the meantime the personnel of the Trustees had changed completely. In 1893 William McGeorge, Jr., John Pitcairn, and George Rathvon are referred to in a letter of Mrs. Kramph's as having succeeded Messrs. Burnham, Rathvon, and Carpenter,—though there were no recorded minutes to show these appointments. At this time only two of the original Trustees were living, Benade and Officer. In 1897 the Rev. W. L. Worcester was appointed in the place of Mr. Tafel, and in 1899 and 1907, the Rev. Frank Sewall and the Rev. S. S. Seward, to fill the places of Messrs. Officer and Benade, who had died in 1905. What had happened was that Mrs. Kramph, who had the supervision of the appointments, had become disaffected toward Benade and the Academy group, and was coming more and more under the influence of certain members of the Convention. McGeorge, Worcester, and Seward had been appointed without Bishop Benade's approval, and were well known as opposed to the Academy. Thus by the time the estate was settled *all* the Trustees except Pitcairn, were

members of the Convention. Several attempts were made at a settlement. In 1903 John Pitcairn, the Rev. C. E. Doering, treasurer of the Academy, and W. U. Hensel, of Lancaster, counsel for the Estate, met and decided that the property be sold, and a new Board of Trustees, selected by the Academy, be appointed by the Orphan's Court of Lancaster. Pitcairn called a meeting of the old Trustees to ratify this decision. Sewall and McGeorge were unable to attend, but expressed their opinion in writing that the Academy was entitled to the money. Worcester alone attended, and said that his only doubt was based on the fact that the Academy was not actually *in* Philadelphia, as the terms of the will specified.⁴⁹

When the property was sold in 1907, the residuary estate amounted to over \$37,000. But now came a serious hitch,—Mr. McGeorge had changed his mind since 1903 and decided to contest the Academy's claim. “The Academy of the New Church is not the legal beneficiary under this will,” he writes, “and has no more claim in law or equity on the fund than the Catholic College of St. Charles Borromeo at Overbrook. . . . In my judgment the Academy is not and never was a New Church body at all, but in its essence is opposed to all the distinctive principles of the Lord's New Church.” And in a letter to Mr. Pitcairn: “Moreover, the education provided by the Academy, if their official organs are to be believed, instead of being universal is intensely specific, . . . and so opposed to the moral sense of the vast majority of New Churchmen, that a graduate grounded in these teachings could find no employment.” And Worcester wrote to Pitcairn the following year: “If the court decides that discretion rests with the Trustees, I can say for a majority at least of the Board, that we would promptly and cheerfully award the money to the Academy, but for one reason,—the position that we understand the Academy to take upon the so-called ‘permissions’ in *Conjugial Love*. . . . We also feel assured that Mr. Kramph would not have sympathized with the position of the Academy on this subject, and would not have left his money to sustain it.”⁵⁰ Again Conjugial

Love is the issue,—or at least, the alleged issue. What other motives may have been the underlying causes of this strange conflict it is impossible to say. Certainly a mere sum of \$37,000 is scarcely justification for dragging the name of Swedenborg, and the most intimate teachings of the Church, through the ordeal of a public trial, and into the limelight of the press.

When the case came up in the Orphans' Court of Lancaster, Pa., in July, 1908, the Academy claimed that it fulfilled the requirements of the will, as its business office was in Philadelphia, though the school itself was outside the city limits. The Trustees contended that the Academy was not in Philadelphia, and that it did not teach the doctrines of the New Church, the said doctrines being those of the Convention, and the Academy being a schismatic body. The question of who is the official interpreter of Swedenborg's teachings was quickly disposed of,—there is no such doctrinal authority, as there is no general governing body. The English Conference, the General Convention, and the General Church, are perfectly independent organizations, with their own rules of government, and their own doctrines. The question of location was also easily settled, the Court deciding that its location fifteen miles outside the city was within the manifest intent of the will. A decision in favor of the Academy was now practically a foregone conclusion, but at this point the Counsel for the Trustees introduced the charge of immoral teaching. This fatal act resulted in putting in jeopardy the legal status of the entire church, and placed it in the eyes of the world in the unenviable position of a moral pariah.⁶¹

The Rev. S. S. Seward, President of the General Convention, testified that at the time he wrote his pamphlet on the subject he had supposed that the members of the Academy did not practice the views which they taught, “but I have since been forced to believe that they do.” When asked if he knew this from personal knowledge, he was obliged to admit that he knew it only “from information,” and the testimony was stricken out by order of the Court. Steno-

graphic notes were offered by the Academy to prove that the Convention had formerly taught these “permissions” in the Theological School. These notes, taken on a lecture by Professor Worcester, ran as follows: “He went wild after all sorts of women. Now if I could have got hold of him, I would have limited him to one, if I possibly could, and provided that that one be as suitable as possible.”⁵²

The first decision, handed down on July 13th, admitted that the Academy fulfilled all the requirement of the will, *but* declared the devise illegal because the teachings of the New Church are contrary to the laws of the State of Pennsylvania, and awarded the estate to the heirs. The Trustees found that they had themselves fallen into the trap so skillfully set for the Academy. The entire New Church had been “stigmatized as a Church so immoral that it was unable to receive a testamentary gift,” and an appeal from the decision was absolutely necessary. The money had become a secondary consideration, for Swedenborg himself was now on trial! Mr. Hensel, counsel for the Academy, complains because the great mass of Swedenborg’s wonderful writings have been outlawed by the decision: “All are swept away at one fell swoop. Why? Because somewhere on some page, of some chapter of one of the one hundred and forty-nine books written by Swedenborg, is found what your Honor declares to be a principle and doctrine repugnant to the laws of the land, the statutes of Pennsylvania, and inconsistent with the conventions of society. Such judicial criticism would obliterate nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand of the classical works of literature, and would decimate every art gallery in the world.” It was asked, “What particular sacredness attaches to the statute law on the subject of sexual relations? Who shall say that fornication is a more grievous sin than drunkenness; that adultery is more heinous than larceny?” It was further pointed out that under such a decision “universities teaching that tariff is immoral, societies opposing vivisection, vaccination, etc.—could not receive bequests.” “The law is concerned only with acts, not beliefs,—

and freedom of conscience is guaranteed under the Constitution.”⁸³

After such noble pleading the second decision, on March 4, 1909, must have come as somewhat of a shock. Judge Smith had evidently given much time and effort to the case. He had studied the Academy’s “Rules of Order,” Mr. Seward’s pamphlet, and *Conjugal Love* itself, most carefully, and quoted Mr. McGeorge’s brief to the effect “that if a man evinces a disposition to utterly extinguish it [conjugal love] the Lord will try to preserve a spark alive, even if it becomes necessary to cover it with the ashes resulting from the fires of impure loves.” “Undoubtedly,” adds Judge Smith, “this is ‘beyond man’s understanding.’ He quoted learned authorities such as Krafft-Ebing on the subject of Swedenborg’s psychological abnormalities, and cited Kant’s statement that the *Arcana Coelestia* is “eight quarto folios of pure nonsense,” and its author “the worst of all visionaries.” He ended with a slur on the New Church. “Its name, New Church, is an appropriate one. It is newer than our laws and is founded on different principles. . . . The Swedenborgian doctrine of fornication and concubinage . . . attacks the main foundation of our national existence, it undermines that upon which the Republic rests, it defies the very laws which courts are called upon to protect, it takes from us the most precious inheritance which has made courts of justice not only possible but rational.”⁸⁴

The case was then appealed to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. The Brief for the Academy stated that justice to the author of the previous decisions “may require that what is most odious and extreme in the work the Court condemns, should be fairly presented; but justice to the Church attacked by the Court, and to its members, as well as to its pureminded and illustrious founder, also demands that no detached paragraphs, or even isolated chapter, shall be wrenched from its context in the great body of his doctrines and writings, and set out in naked relief, with either the purpose or the result of misrepresenting his doctrines, and giving to certain words undue emphasis and false or forced

significance. . . . The sole purpose, intention, and end of the work on Conjugial Love, is to teach the holiness of Conjugial Love and the sacredness of marriage. What conceivable motive, then, can be assigned for thus zealously building up with one hand, and ruthlessly demolishing with the other? Was Swedenborg so little of a philosopher or logician that he was unable to see that all his exhortations that men lead holier lives would be utterly nullified if he added, as the auditing judge claims, a grave license to give rein to the promptings of unbridled lust? . . . Swedenborg teaches that fornication and adultery are evils. Swedenborg further teaches that there are degrees of evil; and sexual evil is of greater or less degree, in proportion to the extent that indulgence in evil operates against the preservation of Conjugial Love in man. . . . Swedenborg teaches that his writings, based as he tells us on revelation, concern the spiritual laws, and not the relation of men to the civil law. . . . He held that motive, rather than externals, determine the quality of an act.” “

Moreover the New Church is not the only one which has teachings “in conflict with public policy,”—the Quakers’ teachings “derogate those statutes which impose upon the citizen the duty of military service; Christian Science is constantly open to the charge of malpractice; the Mormons still believe in Polygamy, and teach it, though not allowed by the law to practice it,—but all these are allowed to receive bequests. This is therefore an act of discrimination and religious persecution. . . . The question now is not one of money but of religious freedom.” Mr. Burnham’s Brief asks, “Is not the question now before the Court practically the matter of the difference of opinion as to the manner of treating the social evil, which is an ever-prevailing problem which from its very nature can be but little affected, controlled, or repressed by civil law, and which will be effectively reached only through the enlightened teachings of religion and morality? The New Church has existed in England and America for over a hundred years, and its members have a high reputation for purity of life. No *acts* have been

charged in this case, only opinions.” To the Brief for the Trustees was appended *Marriage and its Perversions, a Statement of the Doctrines of Swedenborg and the New Church*, prepared and respectfully submitted by a Committee of the General Council of the General Convention.⁶⁶

The Supreme Court gave its decision on June 22nd, as follows: “The Judges who heard this case are unanimously of the opinion that the decree must be reversed; it cannot be sustained on any ground whatever. But we are not entirely agreed as to which of the parties claiming as legatees come most nearly within the expressed intent of the testator.” The case was therefore reargued on October 25th before the Supreme Court at Pittsburgh, with the Trustees and the Academy as the contestants, the heirs having been eliminated by the decision. The final decision was a triumph for the New Church in general and for the Academy in particular. It reads: “It does not appear that such writings [those condemned by Judge Smith] constitute any part of the religious doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church, at least not with that interpretation put on them which would make them offensive. Upon this branch of the case we need not enlarge further. . . . The Academy of the General Church, with its university buildings at Bryn Athyn exactly meets the requirements imposed by the testator upon the beneficiary intended by him. . . . We are not called upon to decide, as between a General Convention and a General Church, which one the more intelligently interprets and understands the teachings and doctrines of Swedenborg.”⁶⁷

Naturally such a case had not escaped the notice of the press. During the hearing in Lancaster several Philadelphia papers had begun a sensational exploitation of it, and after the first decision the publicity spread all over the United States, and even to several European countries. The New Church had indeed cast its pearls before the swine. An interview with Mr. McGeorge was printed under the heading, “Moral Code of Girls’ School Repudiated. Leading Swedenborgian Condemns Teachings at New Academy.”⁶⁸ This sort of publicity did the Church a great deal of harm, and

was the cause of deep distress to its members. The Academy took the whole miserable affair calmly, as they felt they had nothing to fear. But the Convention seems to have been in a state of panic bordering on hysteria. The *Messenger*, after the first decision, demanded an official statement from the Convention on the Second Part of *Conjugal Love*, and the Philadelphia Society and the Massachusetts Association made solemn declarations that *all* extra-marital sex intercourse is adultery. The Brocton Society asked permission to withdraw their invitation to the Convention for its 1909 meeting, for fear of more publicity, but the Convention promised there would be no open discussion of the question, so the invitation was allowed to stand.⁵⁹ Therefore the famous resolution passed at this Convention, *without discussion*, is called the “Brocton Declaration.” It reads as follows:

“The necessity has arisen for the New Church to make clear its stand for the sanctity of marriage and purity of life at this time, because of the teaching put forth in the name of the New Church by the body commonly known as the ‘Academy,’ with headquarters at Bryn Athyn, Pa., that under certain conditions sexual relations outside of marriage are not evil, nor a violation of the commandment, ‘Thou shalt not commit adultery.’ The body holding these views has organized under the name, ‘The General Church of the New Jerusalem,’ which so resembles the name, ‘The General Convention of the New Jerusalem in the United States of America,’ that the unadvised may mistake one for the other. They have also insisted before the public and in a court of law, and in their periodical and other writings, that their teaching is the teaching of Swedenborg, and is the doctrine of the New Church.

“The General Convention of the New Jerusalem in the United States of America, assembled in its eighty-ninth Annual Session, being its first session since the hearing in the Court of Law, above referred to, hereby denies and repudiates this teaching; and affirms that the Writings of Swedenborg condemn as evil all sexual relations outside of marriage, as well as all conduct, thought or intention that does not ac-

cord therewith, in letter and in spirit, and further that the only law of purity for all men is that declared by our Lord Jesus Christ in Matt. v: 28, ‘But I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.’

“The revelations made by the Lord through the instrumentality of Emanuel Swedenborg, for the establishment of the New Church spoken of in Rev. xxi: 2, contain many new and wonderful statements regarding the Divine origin, the holiness, the purity and the spiritual use of marriage. They teach that marriage is the highest, the holiest, the most intimate, and the most enduring relation into which finite beings can enter; that it derives its origin from the Lord, not only because He instituted it in the beginning, but because it is from Him, being derived from the union or marriage of love and wisdom in Him; and that it also represents the union of the Lord and the church, the Lord being called in Scripture the husband, and the church the bride or wife. The sacred use of marriage is also shown not only in the continuance and increase of the human race, but also in the salvation of human souls and the perfecting of character; for the true husband no longer loves himself for his own sake, but for the sake of his wife; and the wife no longer loves her womanly qualities and abilities for her own sake, but for the sake of her husband, the power of self-love being thereby broken, so that a pure and unselfish love can take its place.”⁶⁰

The Brocton Declaration was considered by the Academy as a deadly insult and still stands as an insurmountable barrier between the two organizations. It also aroused considerable protest in the Convention itself. Even before the trial there were some who regretted the gossip and ill-feeling and expressed sympathy for the Academy. In 1905 William Hyde Alden resigned his position with the Philadelphia Book Room, a Convention concern, with the following statement: “Somewhat more than two years ago I became convinced that the belief, held by many members of the Convention, that some of the teachings of the Academy tended to immorality and that, as a result of such teaching, immoral

practices existed among the members of the General Church of the New Jerusalem, had no foundation in fact. In this conviction it seemed right to me to express to the brethren of the General Church at Bryn Athyn my regret that I had misjudged them, and to offer friendly relations with them.— My offer was cordially accepted. A friendship has followed which has been to me an increasing satisfaction. . . . I have found their teaching respecting marriage and the relation of the sexes to be such as inculcates clean thought and life from childhood up, and eventuates in pure homes and happy families. It seems to me that this life, which is open to any one, who will, to know about, is sufficient answer to unfortunate interpretations which have been made of certain publications of the Academy.”⁶¹ And the Rev. O. L. Barler issued a booklet on his eighty-third birthday, in which he states: “We all make mistakes. . . . That was a regrettable mistake,—the Brocton Declaration! Mistaken leaders among us appropriated to themselves powers that belonged to the Council of Ministers,—they overruled the Convention itself even, and committed that well-disposed body to an aggressive warfare of hostility against a sister organization, whose loyalty to the Divine Revelation, given through Swedenborg, is proverbial; whose purity of life is well known, and whose happy homes of large families are beyond compare.”⁶² This brought a severe reprimand from the Council of Ministers: “We regard it as disloyalty to the Convention and entirely inconsistent with your position as a minister of that body.”⁶³ Another dissenter, the Rev. Eugene J. E. Schreck, was also accused of disloyalty and brought to trial by the Council of Ministers. When the Schreck case came up in Chicago at the Convention in 1910 the newspapers were eagerly awaiting the scandal, and once more the subject of Conjugial Love was aired for the edification of all Christian people.⁶⁴

The periodicals of the Church also kept the controversy alive. No one was allowed to forget it. The *Messenger*, in an editorial review of the published *Declaration*, attacked the Academy thus: “The Academy’s arguments in this be-

half, though suggested in the pamphlet as modestly as possible, are too disgusting and obscene to appear in a family paper. But it was necessary to go to the bottom of the case that the church might know the utter abandonment to which the ‘Academy’ teachings lead in claiming finally that it is the duty of one to avail himself of abhorrent license. The Academy’s defiant violation of the law in teaching practices foreign to Christianity and alike to our nation is shown in the citations to his writings to be the opposite of what Swedenborg teaches,—namely, that the love of country necessitates obedience to its laws.”⁶⁶ The Academy replied to these attacks in an article in the *New Church Life* called “Thou shalt not bear false witness.”⁶⁶

In 1910 the Academy published a history of the affair called *The Kramph Will Case*, which was reviewed by the *New Church Review*, a Convention periodical, “more in sorrow than in anger.” “No one who sincerely loves the New Church, can read the volume entitled *The Kramph Will Case*, without the deepest pain and sense of humiliation. If the writers of it feel the loyalty to the Lord in His Second Coming, as revealed in the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, which they profess, they must have written it in the blood of their own hearts; for it brings deep shame upon the professing disciples of the New Jerusalem to have had such a controversy as the book describes. We need not doubt the honesty of intention to do the thing justly and accurately, nor the sincerity of the words in the prefatory note,—but we may differ with them in judgment as to the wisdom of perpetuating the record of this disgrace, and of burdening posterity with it. Moreover, every wise man knows that history cannot be written while events are taking place, and especially that the history of a controversy cannot be fairly written by a zealous participant in it. Hence we find before us not a history, but an instance of special pleading, a protest from the Academy that it has been wronged and martyred for defending the doctrines of the Church.” The same criticism was applied to the Rev. S. S. Seward’s book, *The Academy Doctrine Examined and Condemned*. “This book,

written by the President of the Convention, but not in his official capacity, is a valuable contribution to the history of the controversy referred to in our last editorial, although, like the subject of that editorial, it cannot be regarded as the history itself. It represents the opposite extreme of the matter. Its avowed purpose, as indicated by the title, is to *examine and condemn* the Academy Doctrine.”⁶⁷

There is nothing more to be said about the Conjugial Love controversy,—perhaps it is still too soon for its true history to be written. Too many of its leading figures are still alive, and the memory of the others is still too fresh in the hearts of friends and families, to probe very deeply into the strange network of motives and actions, of sincere principles and personal animosities, which produced such disastrous results for the Church they *all* loved so dearly.

CHAPTER X

THE GENERAL CHURCH AND THE COMMUNITY AT BRYN ATHYN

The story of the development of the New Church community at Bryn Athyn is essentially the story of the General Church itself,—that is, the community is the doctrine of the Church “ultimated” in daily life. The theory underlying it is the belief that the New Church can grow only in complete isolation from the influences of the “Old Church.” We find this theory expressed in many different ways: “Our task,—and it is a desperate one,—is to deliver a remnant who have not yet lost their faith, and to keep them and their posterity from being swept away by this rising tide of skepticism, with its wreckage of undermined churches. . . . The Academy believes that we must obey the Divine injunction to ‘come out of her, my people, lest ye be partakers in her iniquity.’”¹ A new Church community is “necessary for the preservation of the New Church which is in an infant state and needs protection. It cannot be exposed to the world as the Spartans exposed their infants. . . . In addition to the school and worship, we live together for the sake of our families and our homes. The quality and nature of the life we live in our homes is of an importance quite as great as the quality and nature of the instruction in the school. A group of homes associated together creates a social sphere. . . . Community life, therefore, implies three major estates: Organized worship, organized social life, and organized education.”² “A man may adopt principles of exclusiveness from various motives. The New Churchman can have but one. His exclusiveness must spring from a desire to shun his evils as sins. If he find himself seeking social life outside the sphere of the New Church, he will find at the same time that he cannot be in active antagonism to

his own evils, and a retrograde movement in his regeneration must ensue. . . . There must be a complete separation from the Old Church both internally and externally.”³

It was natural that holding such beliefs, the members of the General Church living in Philadelphia should have felt that a move to the country was desirable. As early as 1889 there were a few New Church families living in Huntingdon Valley, about fifteen miles from Philadelphia, at the spot now called Bryn Athyn, and the Philadelphia members often came out for picnics. Fortunately there had arisen in the General Church a philanthropist, John Pitcairn of Pittsburgh, whose heart and soul had been in the Academy from its earliest days, and through his generosity the present community was made possible. In 1893 several tracts of farm land were purchased, a few houses were built, hedges and avenues of trees were planted, and one of the old farm-houses was converted into a clubhouse. The new community grew rapidly and in 1895 a frame building was constructed for use as a chapel. The Schools moved out in 1897, bringing their faculties with their families. The old clubhouse was used for the schools until a new building, the present Inn, could be completed. From time to time, as the community grew, new land was added, and new homes built. In 1899 Mr. Pitcairn gave \$400,000.00 to the Academy for the construction of the present handsome stone buildings. The plant now includes a large central building, Benade Hall, which houses the offices, the chapel, the Academy Book Room, the Girls’ Seminary, the Boys’ Academy, and the science and physical education departments; DeCharms Hall, the Elementary School building, and the Library, which houses the Theological School and the Museum as well. There is also a girls’ dormitory, a boys’ dormitory, a common dining hall, and a community house with a large stage and auditorium, also a fully equipped gymnasium. The name of the community, Bryn Athyn, signifying “Hill of Cohesion,” expresses beautifully both the ideal and the reality.⁴

Since its separation from the Convention in 1890 the Gen-

eral Church has grown remarkably. At that time it consisted of seven societies: the Church of the Advent in Philadelphia, the Pittsburgh Society, the Greenford, Ohio, Bethel, Allentown, and Renovo Societies, the Immanuel Church of Chicago, and circles in Brooklyn, N. Y., and Erie, Pa. Its total membership was three hundred and forty-seven.⁵ In the next decade two Societies in Canada, the Berlin and Toronto Societies, and two in England, the London and Colchester Societies, were added, the General Church now being regarded as international. These accessions from abroad, as well as internal growth, brought the total membership up to five hundred and sixty in 1900.⁶ During the next ten years the growth was rapid, the 1910 figures showing a total of nine hundred and forty-one, an increase of 68 per cent.⁷ Since then the growth has been slower. In 1920 the total had reached 1,435,⁸ and in 1930 it was 2,012. Of these 1,112 were in the United States, and 733 of these in Bryn Athyn. The geographical distribution shows considerable missionary activity, the twenty societies being located as follows: Pennsylvania, six; Georgia, one; Maryland, one; Illinois, two; Ohio, three; Colorado, one; New York, one; Washington, D. C., one; Canada, two; and England, two. The foreign membership includes 293 in Canada, 116 in Great Britain, 79 in South America, 197 in Europe, 60 in South Africa, and 20 in Australia. Besides these there are 771 native members in the missions in Basutoland. There were in 1930 fifty-six clergy, eleven of these being native Africans. The enthusiasm for education has resulted in a total of 427 pupils in the seven day schools located respectively at Bryn Athyn, Pa., Glenview, Ill., Pittsburgh, Pa., Toronto and Kitchener, in Canada, Alpha, Orange Free State, Colchester, England, besides the Basuto mission schools with their 177 pupils.⁹

Due to many large gifts, mainly from members of the Pitcairn family, the financial status of the General Church is excellent. Its income in contributions in 1930 was \$13,-134.19, and the Academy's income was \$166,996.09. The assets of the Academy, including equipment and endowment,

amount to \$2,870,109.¹⁰ The treasurer however in his report makes the statement that, in spite of long continued efforts on the part of himself and his predecessors, financial support has never been given to the General Church by more than half its members. This is due partly to the fact that there is a general misapprehension regarding the need for small contributions, and partly to the fact that the local societies carry schools of their own as well as churches and feel unable to contribute very much to the work of the General Church.¹¹

In 1904 District Assemblies were formed in Bryn Athyn, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Ontario, and London, which meet annually, and make it unnecessary for the General Assembly to meet oftener than every three years.¹² As these Assemblies are able to handle administrative problems locally, the General Assembly has been left free from too much detail, and has become very largely social and inspirational in character. The meetings are always held in June to include the celebration of the Nineteenth of June, the General Church's most important festival. The celebration of this date has always been a distinctive feature of the Academy. It is to commemorate the nineteenth of June 1770, when Swedenborg said the Lord sent out his apostles into the universal spiritual world to spread the new gospel,—the descent of the New Jerusalem foretold in the Apocalypse. Also it was on this same date, in the year 1876, that the twelve original members of the Academy held their organization meeting, thus making the date doubly precious to the General Church.¹³ When the Assemblies are held at Bryn Athyn it has been possible for the Academy Schools to contribute to the occasion a dramatic performance, a play or pageant given out-of-doors in a beautiful natural setting.¹⁴ Great emphasis is put on the "social sphere" of the Assembly,—a banquet with toasts and speeches, and entertainment at the beautiful Pitcairn estate of "Cairnwood," forming an important feature of the whole. The Assemblies are well attended. In 1910 there were three hundred and eighteen members and a hundred and eight visitors present.¹⁵

The Eighth General Assembly was held in 1913 at Glenview, Ill., a suburb of Chicago, a New Church Community modeled on Bryn Athyn. The community was founded by the members of the Immanuel Church, who after their affiliation with the General Church of Pennsylvania in 1883, found themselves without a church. The building which they had been using was owned by the other Chicago Society who now demanded that they give it up. A few of the members had moved out to Glenview, and now others began to follow. They purchased a park of about forty acres and built homes, a church and a school in it. By 1913 the community consisted of seventy-four adults and sixty-seven young people, a third of whom were of Scandinavian descent.¹⁶ Most of the Glenview children are sent to Bryn Athyn to complete their education. The Twelfth Assembly was held at Kitchener, Ontario, and the Thirteenth in London, showing the international character of the General Church.¹⁷ This effort toward an international organization began in real earnest in 1919 with a gift from the Pitcairns of nearly twenty thousand dollars to the Extension Committee. Out of this support was given to pastors in Brussels, Stockholm, Lausanne, and Paris.¹⁸ But the most active seat of missionary activities is in Basutoland, where the work has been so successful that in 1929 it was possible to hold a South African Native Assembly. There are now 771 native members, as we have seen, and eleven native ministers.¹⁹

Publication has been an important function of the Academy. The *New Church Life*, its official organ, was changed in form in 1900 from a paper to a magazine.²⁰ In 1904 it was reported that there were two hundred members of the General Convention on the subscription list, showing that the Academy viewpoint is not altogether abhorrent to a certain proportion of that body.²¹ Another periodical, the *Journal of Education*, was founded in 1900, having grown out of the publication of the reports of the Annual Teachers' Meetings of the Academy Schools. It has developed into a very comprehensive treatment of Academy theory and practice in education, from the kindergarten to the theological

school, and is particularly interesting for its development of a unique educational psychology based upon Swedenborg's psychological theories. A third periodical, a pamphlet called *New Church Sermons*, appears monthly from October to June for use in worship. The Academy Book Room also publishes a number of books yearly, including translations of Swedenborg, collateral works, and text-books for the schools.²²

Since 1890 there has been a development and clarification of doctrine, but no radical change.²³ Bishop Pendleton writes: "The Academy and the General Church have been defined as an attitude, a state of mind, with reference to the Revelations,—a humble acquiescence with regard to the precise doctrinal definitions found in the Writings, because of faith that the word of this doctrine is the voice of the Lord for the New Church. The Academy, however, is more than this attitude of loyalty and obedience; it is a derived body of perceptive teachings, interpretive doctrines, which characterize all its life and doings. It is fundamentally an attitude,—a vowing of the mind. . . . The inspiration of Academy thought is not primarily a devotion to dogmatic phrases,—not a binding literalism. For we know that in the parsing of phrases the truth may be sidetracked; in giving a disproportionate weight to words the idea may suffer. No one saw this danger more clearly than Father Benade."²⁴ Thus we see that Academy teaching is not so much a literal interpretation of the words of Swedenborg as a "derived body of perceptive teachings," and it is this which has always disturbed the opponents of the Academy,—this tendency to *derive* and *perceive*. A visitor to the Assembly in 1898 made this shrewd observation: "The only fear,—to speak with candor and frankness,—is that you may add something to the Writings,—that you may draw from them what you may think are legitimate deductions from them, and then raise them up into the position of a Divine Revelation. That is the danger as I see it."²⁵ And this is still a basic question. In 1922 the Academy brought out a little book called *Swedenborg's Testimony Concerning his*

Writings which met with severe criticism both in the Convention and the English Conference. One of the British ministers calls it "a strange commingling of truth and error which leads the non-critical reader to a conclusion utterly unwarranted by the facts. Quotations, not always accurate, always sundered from their context, and often used in direct violation of the sense which that text indicates,—etc."²⁶ The book seems to prove conclusively by direct quotations that Swedenborg himself said that his writings were divine revelation, but the doubt still remains as to precisely what he meant by this. That is, the doubt remains in the minds of many *outside* the Academy.

The present Academy doctrine that the writings of Swedenborg are a third canon of the Word has been arrived at gradually. "Bishop Benade, in his first formulations, contented himself with saying that they were a spiritual-natural revelation, and that the Second Coming of the Lord in the Word was effected 'not by the provision of a new Word in a literal form, . . . but by the opening of the Word,' and that 'this opening, this revelation, this unfolding, is given in the Doctrines of the New Church, which are the spiritual sense of the Word,' and that these doctrines 'must be the Divine and infallible Word of the Lord.'"²⁷ The natural inference that if the Writings are the Word they must contain an internal sense had already appeared in the English New Church at an early date, but the early leaders of the Academy did not make a distinction between letter and spirit in the Writings. They believed that the internal sense in them is not hidden, as in the Word of the Bible, but is "comparatively on the surface, that is, sufficiently so to enable those who rightly approach them to draw from the store which is infinitely therein. . . . The Writings are the spiritual sense of the Word and also contain the celestial sense. The limitation against any one perceiving it lies only in the individual. The different degrees of truth in the Writings are not discrete, as in the Bible, but continuous, and require no further revelation."²⁸

This theory of an internal sense in the Writings appeared

also in the Convention during the *Conjugial Love* controversy, an attempt being made by William McGeorge to prove that this much discussed book was not meant to be taken literally, but had an inner meaning hidden in the symbolic use of capital letters. This great discovery is described by the late Mr. Roeder in his own inimitable way. "He found a large number of words in a certain book printed with initial capital letters. He grew so deeply interested that he spent endless time, much money, and terrific study on it. . . . But the theory that because of these capital letters the words thus beginning have special values, while interesting, had in my mind to meet the fact that the printers of old were limited in 'sorts,' and when out of 'lower case' type put in 'upper case.' I have seen many words such as these: 'VeruLaM—IsaAks VerHinderTes opFerIX,' which took that shape simply because the printer was 'out of sorts.'"²⁹ There were few converts to this theory of an esoteric meaning in *Conjugial Love* in Convention circles, and certainly none in the Academy! As a matter of fact, however, Mr. McGeorge's method was not quite so naïve as to be based wholly on the use of capital letters, though this was, as he thought, the clew for unraveling the hidden meanings. His method was the use of Potts' *Swedenborg Concordance* for finding out what the capitalized words meant to *Swedenborg*, a problem in philology. But as all words to *Swedenborg* had a correspondential as well as a literal sense, Mr. McGeorge's theory amounts simply to the application of the science of correspondences to the writings of *Swedenborg* as well as to the *Scriptures*.³⁰

The leaders of the Academy, while recognizing that the letter of the Writings "serves as a protecting veil which prevents those who are in immature or unworthy states from entering into the spiritual light which the Doctrines freely yield to the earnest reader," have nevertheless rejected the idea that the doctrine derived from them is "an internal sense drawn by correspondences." In fact, to quote Mr. Odhner, they "have always viewed with concern the effort to exalt the science of correspondences above doctrine, or the effort

to make doctrine by correspondences. Correspondences only corroborate and illustrate doctrine, and can be turned to confirm almost any doctrine." This issue of an internal sense in the Writings to be discovered by means of the science of correspondences has reappeared in *De Hemelsche Leer*, a Dutch periodical in the sphere of the General Church published at the Hague. Its editor, the Rev. Ernst Pfeiffer, maintains that the science of correspondences is "indispensable for the interior understanding of the Writings," and that because this has not been granted in the General Church it has been kept in a "purely natural state." In reply to this contention the Rev. Hugo Lj. Odhner writes: "But to New Churchmen whose comfort it has been to feel that this surpassing Revelation has disclosed the spiritual sense, and ended the age of mystery and uncertainty, there comes a decided disturbance of mind when it is suggested that the Writings are, perhaps, only another *sealed* letter, whose treasury of hidden truths has to be drawn out by some special process or translated into spiritual doctrine by especially enlightened prophets yet to come!"³¹ Thus we see that doctrinal questions are live issues in the General Church as well as in the General Convention.

It has already been shown how important a part education played in the aims of the Academy from its beginning. After the Theological School and College had been established in the seventies Bishop Benade turned his energies toward elementary and high schools. In 1881 he wrote: "My mind is setting ever more strongly in the direction of elementary schools, and we must have teachers for them brought up with us in the sphere of the Church. We might start a school for boys now, if we had the teaching force." The Boys' School was actually opened that September with a faculty supplemented by the Theological students. It occupied the old Cherry St. School building, and the College and Theological School were transferred to Benade's former home nearby on Friedlander St. The following year a kindergarten was opened by Miss Malvina Boericke,

but was given up later on account of her ill health. In 1884 Benade began his "Conversations on Education," classes intended primarily for those preparing to become New Church ministers and teachers, but open to the public. These continued for two years with great success, and the notes taken on these discourses have helped mold the Academy system of education to this day. This year also saw the establishment of a Girls' School under Mrs. Hibbard. The next year all the schools, except the Boys', were brought together under one roof on Summer St. and two years later they were all united in a group of new buildings on Wallace and North Streets.⁸²

By 1889 there were also Academy elementary schools in Pittsburgh and Chicago, and that year a joint faculty meeting of the three was held in Philadelphia. In the report of this meeting the principle is laid down that "Religious instruction is the first essential, and must be in the hands of the Priesthood. Hebrew is the second essential." "Education is a training for heaven, and the use of the teacher is the use of the Priesthood. Teachers are not the hired servants of parents, but the use of teacher is superior to the use of parent."⁸³ At the second meeting, held in Allegheny City the following year, the principle of New Church baptism as a necessity for admission was laid down. Also it was decided that the Word was to be kept in the schoolroom in a special repository, to be opened and closed with ceremony at the beginning and end of the day, so that the classes should be conducted in the Lord's presence. If there should be any disorder the Word would be closed as a sign of reproof. For the study of Hebrew no text except the Word was necessary. "The beginning ought to be by being inducted into the most general affection of the language, and this is perceived by hearing the sound of the language, rather than by seeing its forms. . . . The use of the Word is not for the learning of languages but for the storing of remains. . . . For this purpose the Word ought to be read in unison in the class, and some knowledge of the language would thus be unconsciously gathered. But if grammar, etc., is introduced

at that time it will disturb the influx of the angels who do not care to have much to do with grammars." "There would be immense power in the learning of the Hebrew from the Word, for the Lord glorified his Human even down to the flesh and bones. The Word is Divine as to every jot and tittle. Therefore the learning of Hebrew is an act of worship."⁸⁴ At the third meeting, held in Pittsburgh in 1892, it was decided to publish the records as the beginning of a scientific journal on education. The question of a musical score for the Hebrew chants came up, and Benade said the music must be printed backwards to conform to the order of the Hebrew. The music teachers objected that music is a language too, and can no more be read backwards than English. Benade's reply was characteristic: "It is a very useful thing to accommodate things to the Word. Professional men especially need to give up the dominion of the forms of technicalities which they are accustomed to and which have been known to interfere with progress in spiritual matters. I see no reason why these arbitrary musical notes cannot be accommodated to the Word." It was pointed out that a new reader was needed, the old ones being totally unfit, dealing as they do with dogs and cats and other things of evil correspondence. It was decided in the meantime to use *Tanglewood Tales*, and other stories from mythology. The question of discipline was discussed also. It was decided to be unwise ever to acknowledge to a child that a punishment had been unjust, for it might lead to his questioning the justice of his parents. Sometimes the Lord seems unjust to us, but we trust him anyhow. Red and white badges were to be given for reward and taken away for punishment. The disgrace would be sufficient to ensure good conduct in the future.⁸⁵

We see here the commencement of a consistent attempt to think out a plan of education, wholly new, because wholly based on the teachings of Swedenborg. Everything connected with classroom procedure had a doctrinal basis. Even the order of instruction was prescribed,—"religion first, then the ultimate sciences, intermediate subjects, and last He-

brew, . . . according to the order of Influx, which proceeds from inmost to ultimates, and by these forms the intermediates.”³⁶ In 1929, when the subject of mission schools for Old Church children was broached, the principle of distinctiveness was firmly reiterated. “The world is a spiritual Flood. It is false charity to open the doors of the Ark, and destroy or endanger those who have taken refuge within.”³⁷

After Mr. Pitcairn’s munificent gift of \$400,000 in 1899 the Schools developed rapidly. By a system of reduced tuitions and working scholarships their advantages were made available to all within the Church. In 1900 there were only six teachers and seven students in the College and Intermediate Departments, with an entire student body of twenty-one,³⁸ but by 1910 the total had increased to eighty-one. That year Mr. Pitcairn gave another hundred thousand to the endowment and an equal amount for a pension fund.³⁹ In 1904 a Normal School was added to meet the very crucial need for teachers trained in Academy methods.⁴⁰ In 1918 the Academy received \$91,000 in gifts and bequests and \$4,000 in contributions towards running expenses, and the salaries were raised from ten to fifteen per cent. The number of students had risen to two hundred the following year, but there was only *one* student in the Theological School. “This naturally causes a feeling of concern and apprehension,” states the report, “that we have a completely equipped school, and yet so little response from our own young men.”⁴¹ The total number of pupils in the Schools in 1930 was 302.⁴²

The thing that strikes the visitor to the Academy Schools is the fact that nothing, apparently, is done, or left undone, without a doctrinal reason. Nothing seems to be haphazard, or merely a matter of course, but everything is for the sake of a “use.” A typical example of this is a notice of the bulletin board headed “College Dances” which reads: “In the New Church it is recognized that social life is a use and a diversion of charity. The College, therefore, has always encouraged as much social activity as is consistent with good College work, and provided for the students more social ad-

vantages and privileges than other upper class Colleges offer. Social life is based on coöperation in this world and in the other world." But there is nothing morbid about this preoccupation with doctrinal sanctions. The atmosphere is perfectly normal and wholesome. The boys and girls live in separate dormitories, but eat together, and except for the high school years the schools are coeducational.

The educational psychology is founded upon the teachings of Swedenborg, who anticipated some of our most modern psychological theories. His basic postulate is that "Love is the Life of man,"—that every thought as well as every action springs from some underlying "affection," or desire. Therefore the stimulation of an affection, or interest in knowledge, is the first essential of the educative process. Another feature of his psychology which has a direct bearing upon education is his concept of an "internal memory," similar to the "unconscious" of the new analytical psychology. Nothing enters this memory except by means of an affection, good or bad,—that is some strong emotional impulse, but whatever does enter is stored up as "remains" which may affect future actions. Obviously the storing of the right sort of "remains" must play an important part in New Church education, especially in the lower grades.⁴⁸ The curriculum is carefully worked out to fit this system of psychology, from the kindergarten to the college.

"The kindergarten is an extension of the nursery beyond the immediate sphere of the home. . . . It is intended to lead gently out of infancy toward the more self-reliant state of childhood. The first care of the teacher is to protect the native innocence of the children, and in it to store up first remains of love to the Lord and Charity toward the neighbor." . . . To the second grade child the whole world is a fairy land, replete in wonderful and beautiful things. For at this age he is very much in the state of the Ancient Church as described in the Writings. Everything is "symbolical and representative." . . . By the fifth grade the child has begun to have the power of generalization and "can be brought to see things as larger units, made up of innumerable parts.

The center of this generalizing, and organizing power, is the Lord as a divine Man. For it is because all things bear relation to Him that they bear relation to one another and so produce in the complex a unit. . . . The family is a unit composed of many persons, etc. Yet each of these is in the *human form*, may be spoken of as a *single man*, is often so pictured in this world, and so appears very frequently in the other world. . . . The seventh grade ushers in a period of development of the utmost importance to the child. . . . There is a gradual budding of youth, with its self assurance, its wilfulness, its ‘wildass’ rational. [Swedenborg says the rational mind in its early stages corresponds to the wild ass wandering in the wilderness.] Perhaps the most striking mental characteristic from the standpoint of the educationalist is the love of *justice*.” It often takes the form of imagined personal injuries, but it is always a sure ground of appeal. At this stage it is well to separate the boys from the girls in the classroom, and to separate the whole group from the social life of the lower grades in order to develop their own social life free from self-consciousness. . . . By the ninth grade “a longing for a *use*, with some realization that this alone gives a man a place, and a reason for being in human society begins to be the prime factor in the psychological development. . . . At the same time there must begin to be a direct preparation for the opening of the spiritual mind. The generals of philosophy should be firmly planted at this age.”⁴⁴

Religion is the cornerstone of the entire system, and enters into every department, but religious instruction is also a special course in the curriculum. “The truth revealed in the Writings of the New Church as to the character of the spiritual world, and the nature of man’s existence beyond the grave leads to the conviction that ‘in the life of the body, the end of all human thought, and of all human action ought to be for the sake of the life after death.’ For a man is not changed by death, but continues his life ‘such as it had been in the world.’ The religion which is to be the ruling love of a man’s life, here and hereafter, must be inculcated in

childhood, and is something which can be definitely taught. All the truths of religion are clearly set forth in the Scriptures, and can be studied and learned like anything else,—religion does *not* lie in the realm of the unknowable. True religion cannot be attained by a mere emotional appeal, but must be achieved by a painstaking process of learning.”⁴⁵ The two things on which religion depends, the *understanding* and the *will*, both require training. One of the most significant features of this training is the study of Hebrew, because it is the original language of the Old Testament, and because Swedenborg says it is nearest to angelic speech, and affords a basis for influx from heaven which no other language can give. Hebrew is begun in the kindergarten with the recitation of a few lines from the Psalms, and continued, mainly by rote, up to the seventh grade. Here a systematic study is begun based on Dr. Alfred Acton’s *Introduction to the Study of the Hebrew Word*, a textbook prepared especially for the Academy Schools. It is a three-year course comprising the simple points in grammar, and enough vocabulary to read the first chapters of Genesis, the Ten Commandments, and the selections from the Psalms used in worship.⁴⁶

The religious instruction through the grades follows a plan based on the development of the idea of the Lord in the Scriptures. In the kindergarten and first grade the idea is that of the Heavenly Father, as most suitable to a child’s helpless and dependent state. In the second grade the Lord is studied as the Creator and Preserver of His people; in the third grade as the Redeemer and Saviour of the Exodus; in the fourth grade as a Hero of War, leader of the armies of Israel; and in the fifth grade as King, in relation to the concept of the divine origin of law and government. With the sixth grade comes the problem of evil, the decline and fall of Israel, and the captivity. The Lord is seen governing the evil, and through it chastening and restoring His people. In the seventh and eighth grades the life of the Lord as a Man on earth is studied, and in the high school a survey

of the history of the Christian Church, the life of Swedenborg, and the history of the New Church.⁴⁷

The most interesting feature of the Academy Schools is the thoroughgoing application of New Church principles to the entire field of education. Because of the "falsities of the Old Church" which permeate the whole life of the world, including education, the Academy has tried to start with a clean slate, and as far as possible to "make all things new." An attitude of aloofness and criticism toward the findings of human knowledge appears, especially in the early days. In 1900 it was reported that Mr. Odhner had conducted a class in the history of philosophy at the Theological School, and that highly beneficial results had come from "this study of the interior history of human error"! ⁴⁸ The same applies to the attitude toward science. In the *Journal of Education* for 1914-1915 it is stated that the science of Swedenborg must be taught primarily, and that impartiality is impossible,—there must be a prejudice in favor of the existence of God. "Beware of too much natural science, put religion first, philosophy second, and science last."⁴⁹ But ten years later the *Journal* shows a broader point of view, especially in the articles by members of the science department itself. It is stated that the department is anxious to bring its standard up to that of the world so that its students may not be handicapped in preparing for professional training elsewhere.⁵⁰ In an article called *The Academy's Adaptation to Science* in 1927 Professor Pendleton says: "For a time our organization may go on without such adaptations, but sooner or later they must be made; or otherwise the Academy will fade away.—We cannot change the facts of observation."⁵¹

The department of mathematics is under the charge of a Platonist whose mathematical theory combines the teachings of Swedenborg with those of his great forerunner in the science of "correspondences." Professor Doering says of the ancients: "They studied number to grasp the idea that order and harmony of relation is the regulating principle of the universe, and they studied geometry to comprehend

the Infinite and His laws. Plato says, ‘The study of the *one* has the power of drawing and converting the mind to the contemplation of true being.’ To the attainment of pure truth the whole study of arithmetic tended, if it was studied, as he said, ‘in the spirit of a philosopher and not of a shop-keeper.’ Does this not suggest to us the attitude of mind that should direct our teaching of number? . . . Mathematics may serve to form vessels in the minds of students which will contain what is Divine. It may serve the use with our children and youths that in Divine Providence it has been to the human race. . . . A child is delighted with instruction in correspondences, not with the didactic teaching of correspondences, but by insinuation of the spiritual sense of the Word, or of the numbers in a concrete way, as, that *one* is the Lord’s number and that all other numbers arise from this one,—that two is man’s number, etc. Now why is there such great delight with the child when he hears this? Because with the teaching that one is the Lord’s number and that all other numbers arise from it, there is in the mind of the teacher and in the minds of the angels who are present with the child the idea that everything is from the Lord; and so the truth coming to the child through its hearing is harmonious to the influx of truth in his soul. And being harmonious he is affected with delight, and there is formed in him a plane to receive this vital truth that all good and truth is from the Lord.”⁵²

This method of linking mathematics with “correspondences” begins in the kindergarten with regard to geometric forms. “The most perfect geometric figure is the *sphere*. The sun is a *ball*. The Lord lives in the Sun of Heaven. A ball then suggests the idea of the sun, the idea of the Lord, who is thought of as the Heavenly Father. . . . The Lord dwells in the sun. But man dwells in a *house*. Here is the *cube*, the most perfect of rectilinear figures, imbued with a living symbolism that is nonetheless *concrete*. All forms are made up of curved lines derived from the ball and straight lines derived from the cube, expressing the conjunction of the Lord and Man, love and faith, good and

truth. This will not be seen, but it will be *insinuated*, if the cube stands for the house in which man dwells and the ball for the sun in which the Lord dwells.”⁵³ In the fourth grade mathematics is taught in relation to character. “The real correspondence of number and form can well be illustrated in ways within the grasp of the children. That abstract qualities are instinctively represented in mathematical terms is evident from many accustomed modes of speech. That a straight line represents truth, honesty, fair dealing, appears in the expression, a man is ‘straight.’ One lacking these qualities is said to be ‘crooked.’ The same ideas appear in the expressions, ‘square’ and ‘foursquare.’ Also the expressions level, smooth, solid, upright, etc., which have been borrowed from mathematics because of their internal meaning. Here many mathematical expressions from the Word may be cited. Most of the forms connected with the tabernacle were square or rectangular; the holy of holies was a cube; the holy city was foursquare, etc. The connection of these expressions with human character can be impressed upon the children and illustrated in their work.”⁵⁴ This linking of mathematics with ethics is in accordance with the principles laid down by Bishop Benade, who taught that “the spiritual world cannot be separated from the natural in fact, and should therefore not be separated in instruction and education, but should be kept in intimate association.”⁵⁵ There could, therefore, be no such thing as “pure science” without a bearing upon ethics or theology,—not even the science of mathematics.

The teaching of history is also related to doctrine, being based on Swedenborg’s revelations concerning the five “Churches,” or epochs of human history.⁵⁶ Upon this framework the history curriculum is planned, beginning in the first grade where the Most Ancient Church is studied in the Bible stories, and from our own primitives, the American Indians, as well. In the second grade begins the study of the Second, or Ancient Church, that is, the civilizations of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria, as correlated with the Old Testament narrative. In the third grade history is separated

from religion, the former taking up the classic myths and hero tales of Greece and Rome, with those of our own Norse and Teutonic ancestors, while the latter pursues its way through Exodus and Deuteronomy.⁵⁷ This teaching of Swedenborg's regarding the ancient churches has produced some very interesting results, among these being a couple of textbooks by Mr. Carl Theophilus Odhner, *The Mythology of the Greeks and Romans*, and *The Golden Age*, in which the ancient legends are elucidated by correspondences in a most fascinating way.⁵⁸ And another important result has been the establishment of a valuable Museum of antiquities. The first collections were made by Bishop Benade himself, who had made a deep study of ancient civilizations, and inspired Mr. John Pitcairn with the same enthusiasm. In 1878 Mr. Pitcairn bought the Lanzone collection of Egyptian antiquities, consisting of thirteen hundred pieces. To this was added a fine collection of antique vases. In recent years there have been many valuable accessions, including a group of Gothic sculptures from Mr. Raymond Pitcairn, and a fine collection of Assyrian, Egyptian, Chinese, and Japanese objects from the Rev. Theodore Pitcairn. There is also considerable modern primitive material from the American Indians, the Alaskans, and the Basutos. These collections are used extensively in the teaching of history and religion. The Museum is housed on the top floor of the Library, which contains other treasures besides;—an original edition room containing first editions of all Swedenborg's works, including his *own* copy of *Vera Christiana Religio*; the "Star Collection," 2,250 volumes, including one copy of every edition of Swedenborg's works; and the "Swedenborg Library," which contains copies of all the volumes known to have been in his own collection, besides all the numerous works referred to by him.⁵⁹ The Library now contains in all forty-six thousand volumes.

The English curriculum in the Elementary School follows the same plan as the history. In the second grade, stories from folk-lore are used; in the third, mythology; and in the fourth grade, hero tales from the Middle Ages. This idea

of hero-worship as the typical fourth-grade psychology is carried over into the religious instruction in the study of the Lord as a hero of war. Great emphasis is put on the high function of language, which is "to impart, preserve, and communicate the Word of the Lord. Written language belongs especially to this earth, and the art of printing was developed here for the sake of the Word. . . . For this reason children should be led to think of the Word of God, whence Divine love and wisdom proceed to men, as the center of all literature. They should see that from this center proceed descending grades of use, through the exalted philosophy of the deepest thinkers, the writings of great patriots and leaders in the practical affairs of men, the records of facts and discoveries by which civilization is developed, to those productions designed primarily to amuse and entertain."⁶⁰ With regard to composition it is taught that "Since an affection clothes itself in its own proper truths, it follows that one cannot adequately write or talk about that of which he knows nothing, or that for which he has no affection, either good or bad, that is, either favorable or unfavorable. Therefore students should not write about subjects that appeal to them only superficially, before they have given considerable attention to them. . . . A New Churchman's point of view should be determined by the love of truth and doctrinal understanding he possesses. One should not write about subjects contrary to his or her doctrinal point of view."⁶¹

Geography also is taught from the basis of theology. "The Earth is the natural home of mankind. It is marvelously created to provide for the needs of human life. Especially is it designed in the Divine economy to meet the spiritual requirements of the race. The indefinite variety of objects which the earth provides, and out of which is formed in ever-changing combinations the material environment of man, becomes the basis of all ideas of thought, of every human conception of delight and undelight. On this foundation rests the whole kingdom of heaven, as the Lord Himself intimates in Isaiah: 'Thus saith the Lord, the heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool.' " . . . The study

of geography begins in the third grade with "geographic conditions that can be illustrated in the home, with its known environment, becoming the center of attention, and from this there is developed a broadening conception of the world." The Law of Labor is taught by showing that "what is provided by the Lord from the ground is only *raw material*. It must be *made* by men into food, clothing and shelter, and this requires work. The Lord gives material in abundance, but He requires labor of men. This is the law of man's relation to the earth. The idea that in this labor there is happiness, and without it there is unhappiness, is given as the reason why men are called upon to work that their life may be sustained, and it is illustrated in simple ways apparent to children." In the fourth grade they learn about nations and their uses. "The course seeks to perfect the idea of the world-whole, giving ground and basis for some conception of the relation of different countries to each other." In the fifth grade the use of the native country is taught. "The child is at an age when patriotism begins to have a real meaning, and this highest of natural loves is stirred by emphasis upon our national ideals of life and government." This work correlates with the history, which is now dealing with the age of discovery and the settlement of the New World.⁶²

This method of approach is especially applicable to the study of Nature, which Swedenborg calls "a theatre representative of the Kingdom of Heaven."⁶³ "To see the Lord and His Kingdom in the forms of creation, is the inner purpose of nature study. All the forces of Nature are but the Divine Life inflowing and operating. By them the Lord is constantly working before our eyes. Here, through His works, children can be taught to know and love Him." The first five years are spent in learning about the beginnings of life in plants, animals, and man; the laws of life for both kingdoms, the animal and the vegetable, and the need for protection of lower forms of life by man. The center of interest is the home, with its baby brothers and sisters, pets, and plants, to be loved and tended. The uses to man of the things of nature, and his responsibility for their preservation

are stressed, and also the joy resulting from the beauty of the natural world. But with the sixth year comes the questioning attitude,—the discovery of evil in the world. The child's ideals suffer a shock, and sometimes his confidence in the Lord is destroyed. Therefore the course now deals with the use of evil forms. "He can slowly be brought to see that while man has, by his sin, introduced evil into the world, the Lord is continually laboring to turn that evil into good, to make it of use to the eventual betterment of human conditions. Death is the means of resurrection into the spiritual world. It has become painful and difficult through disease; but even physical suffering is used by the Lord to break down resistance to Him, and impart a truer happiness. Evil animals, poisonous insects, and plants and other effects in nature of man's fall, are turned by the Lord to good uses, particularly as medicines. All evils come from breaking the laws of life." This leads naturally to the study of hygiene, and in the seventh and eighth grades, to anatomy. "The survey of the kingdoms of nature, at all points viewed in relation to mankind, for the sake of whom they have been created, culminates in a more particular study of man himself as the crowning work of Divine Creation. The study of the human body is of vital importance to a later understanding of the Divine Human of the Lord, and the Grand Man of the Universe."⁶⁴ Thus we see the work of the elementary school leading up by simple logical progression toward those cosmic conceptions which play so large a part in the philosophy of Swedenborg. It may seem to be an anthropocentric universe which is envisaged in the system we have been perusing, but the *anthropos* which forms its center is not the petty human of earth, but the Divine Human,—the Platonic "form" to which the entire physical universe corresponds in every slightest detail.

In spite of these unique theories and methods of education the Academy Schools enjoy a high academic rating. The Boys' Academy and the Girls' Seminary are accredited first class high schools according to the Department of Education of the State of Pennsylvania, and the Academy is a member

of the Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges. The College, however, is not formally accredited, being too small to fulfill the numerical requirements.⁶⁵ Progressive methods, especially the Dalton plan of assignments, are used with great success, and many of the faculty have been trained in the modern educational methods at Teachers' College, Columbia University, and elsewhere.

The General Church puts its greatest emphasis on worship as the central purpose of religion, and therefore the central feature of family and community life. The center of family worship is the Word itself which is kept in a special repository in a bookcase or on a stand, resting on a piece of blue or gold velvet, and makes of every home a holy temple in which the Lord resides. The custom of family prayers was much stressed in the beginning, and a calendar with suitable selections was prepared for this use. These selections were to be read in unison by all the families in the Church at morning and evening in order to form "choirs,"—an idea derived from Swedenborg's statement that the heavenly societies are organized into groups, or "choirs," composed of like-minded spirits who feel and act together as a spiritual unit. At a meeting in 1888 the selections for morning worship were criticized as being too long, by a member who found it difficult to get through the entire passage. He asked if it would not do to leave some of the reading for the evening. "Attention has been called," he said, "to the use of reading in concert,—to read with the idea of forming choirs, all getting into the same channel of thought, and into the same spirit. Does time make any difference? Time is not in the Spiritual World, there it is state. But is not the use of a choir attained without the necessity of our reading at the same time?" This met with a cool response from the Bishop. "We learn from the Doctrine of the Church that in the heavens all the angels are in choirs. No one who leaves the earth can come into this angelic society, until he has been trained in a choir. . . . We are told that some are kept in this training for years, because they are so peculiar in disposition that they cannot easily be brought to act to-

gether. . . . We gain something of this by reading the Lord's Word together." ⁶⁶ Obviously the only solution for those who found the selections too long was to get up earlier.

In the school too daily worship plays an important part. All the classes except the kindergarten unite in a fifteen minute devotional service each morning, in which the singing of Hebrew chants forms an unusual feature. The kindergarten has its "morning circle,"—a charming little ceremony in which the Word is opened and candles lighted on an improvised altar. This is followed by a few simple prayers, a story from the Word told by the teacher, and a hymn or chant. Sometimes a line or two is recited in unison in Hebrew. Every class in religious instruction begins with the formal opening of the Word, and passages from the Scripture, which achieves an atmosphere of reverence and sets the study of religion apart from secular studies. For the upper departments this effect is heightened by the use of a special room appropriately arranged for the purpose. But the most important feature of the children's worship is a special service in the Cathedral on Sunday morning, which takes the place of a Sunday School. Here they receive their training in ritual and music, and a brief doctrinal instruction.⁶⁷

But the center of all the worship, and the real heart of the community life is the Cathedral itself. One of the early Academy leaders wrote over fifty years ago: "Our temples ought to be gems of art, and our Ritual so charming and faultless that any may enter into it, rendering it with the spirit and the understanding also." ⁶⁸ If the writer of these words could see a service in the Cathedral to-day he would be satisfied, for that ideal has been achieved. Here, in the most beautiful Gothic building in America, has been developed a form of ritual wholly worthy of it, combining dignity, simplicity and beauty into a truly impressive whole. The building is the gift of Mr. John Pitcairn, who in 1912 engaged the firm of Cram and Ferguson to build a temple worthy of the New Jerusalem. After Mr. Pitcairn's death the connection with Cram and Ferguson was severed, and the work was taken over by his son, Mr. Raymond Pitcairn,

being completed in 1919. Adjoining the Cathedral, which is fourteenth century Gothic in style, are a Choir Building and a Council Building, both in twelfth century Romanesque, forming a charming combination. The buildings stand on a low hill which slopes away toward the west down to the Pennypack Creek across a broad valley, and rises gently toward the east providing a background of trees for the lovely towers. It would be hard to imagine a more perfect setting.

The story of the building of the Cathedral is a fascinating one, and may best be told in Mr. Cram's own words. He describes the donor, Mr. Pitcairn, as "an old gentleman of small stature, grave, courtly, keenly intelligent, vigorous beyond his years, an acute business man, and withal possessed of imagination and intense idealism," whose powerful personality dominated the whole project. Of the unique method of building he says: "It was intended to be in a sense, a protest against the general fashion of contemporary building and a return in spirit and in method to an earlier age. For my part I always thought of it as possessing its greatest value in those elements which connected it with the economic and industrial aspects of human activity, not in those which are essentially æsthetic. . . . The type of Swedenborgianism in vogue at Bryn Athyn is even more mystical than that of the parent sect from which it is an offshoot, and expresses itself in a polity and a ceremonial constantly tending towards that of the Episcopal Church, or perhaps the 'Irvingite' or 'Catholic Apostolic Church.' The soil was unusual and from the first fertile and receptive. By insensible degrees, and in a short space of time, the idea of a sort of co-operative, neo-mediæval organization of the building of the church grew into dominance, . . . until at last, by the time the walls began to rise above the ground, the system had reached a point of development never achieved in any place since the close of the Middle Ages. A quarry was opened on the estate, woods ransacked for timber, workshops built, and forges. Full scale models were made, and glass shops built. More than a hundred men were constantly employed, and

given the widest leeway in original work, and public recognition. The foreman and the architects formed a party of inspection by which all new work was examined and criticised. From time to time all came together, the Pitcairn family, the church and college dignitaries and the workmen, for a luncheon and talk, like a big family, or guild. All idea of cost was put aside from the start, and all idea of hurry.”⁶⁹

This idyllic state of affairs did not continue long, however. When Mr. Pitcairn died in 1916, his son, Raymond, who had become imbued with enthusiasm for the project, took charge. According to Mr. Cram, democracy now ran riot. “The idea of co-operation, begun with such enthusiasm, grew to a point where a suggestion from any source,—draughtsman, visitor, clerical assistant, workman,—meant a fair trial in the shape of sketches, details, scale and full-size models, all perhaps to be rejected, with a return to the first or second scheme. The architects were finally reduced to equality with a dozen others. In the end the authority of the architect was merged in the consultive function of the critic, and increasingly his initiative in design became submerged under the equal initiative of owner and draughtsmen.” This extraordinary state of affairs produced a break,—Mr. Cram withdrew, and Mr. Pitcairn continued alone. Mr. Cram admits, however, that the effects of this remarkably democratic organization were amazing. “The results at Bryn Athyn were a revelation of the latent enthusiasm and creative power hidden in the most average workmen gathered from miscellaneous sources. The actual results were equally a revelation of craftsmanship quite comparable with much of that of the Middle Ages.”⁷⁰

It may seem strange that the New Church chose the Gothic style, which is so distinctly a product of the “Old Church,” instead of developing a new style of its own, and indeed such had been the original idea. But tremendous difficulties were involved in such a project, and in selecting Mr. Cram as chief architect, Mr. Pitcairn had either wittingly or unwittingly chosen the Gothic along with its most famous exponent. It only remained to rationalize the choice. Just as

the early Christians had taken over and adapted to their own uses the Roman basilica, the temples of the old paganism, so the New Christians were obliged to take over the Gothic of the Old Christianity. The symbolism however is distinctly new, being based on the "Science of Correspondences." "The Church building as a whole is symbolic of the Lord Jesus Christ—even as was the Temple at Jerusalem, of which it is written, . . . 'Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up.' . . . The Church building represents more especially the inward human *form*, the *mind* of man, rather than the external shape of the body. Its major divisions are symbolic of the degrees of life in man, the inmost mind being represented by the Sanctuary, the internal mind by the Chancel, and the external mind by the Nave. . . . Access to the tower is afforded by a spiral stairway through a monel metal door opening from the vestibule of the choir rooms. The spiral is symbolic of the process of regeneration. As far as the chancel-aisle roof it turns from left to right, while above it turns from right to left. The former represents progress during the process of regeneration from truth to good, while the latter is significant of progress from good to truth after regeneration. . . . The chancel is divided into three parts, each division being marked by an elevation of three steps. . . . These divisions are representative of the three degrees of the internal mind, and also of the three heavens. This representation is reflected also in the uses to which each division is put, the outer chancel being for the reading of the Word and preaching, the inner chancel for the administration of the sacraments, and the sanctuary as a repository for the Word."¹¹

As the central point of focus in the sanctuary there stands, not the conventional oblong altar for the celebration of the eucharist with its cross and candelabra, but a small cubical altar on which rests the Bible alone, with seven tall golden candlesticks arranged about it, and over it a golden light streaming down from a golden crown. The entire chancel is flooded with a soft violet light from the red and blue glass of the tall windows, creating an ethereal effect of in-

tense power and beauty. "The general representation of the sanctuary is that of the Son of Man in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks. All the symbolism here is drawn from the Apocalypse, which contains a prophecy of the New Church, and describes the Lord as He is to be worshipped in His Second Advent. The Lord Himself is represented by the Word, the throne by the altar, and the sea of glass by the floor which eventually will be of glass mosaic design in gold."⁷²

The Council Building, adjoining the Church, is twelfth century Romanesque, and has an exceptionally beautiful tower, somewhat lower than that of the Church. The symbolism here is of a more secular nature. A series of heads beneath the cornice represents the various races of mankind, and on the south wall are the seals of the Academy and the General Church. The former is a quartered shield representing the New Church with a crest consisting of a lion to represent the Lord's Divine Human, a crown symbolizing His Government, and a key symbolizing the opening of the internal sense of the Word. The latter represents the seven candlesticks and the seven stars of Revelation. In the Council Hall the corbels are portrait heads of Church dignitaries, such as Robert Hindmarsh, Richard DeCharms, William H. Benade, William F. Pendleton, John Pitcairn, and Walter C. Childs. In the East Window is a full-length portrait of Emanuel Swedenborg, surrounded by female figures representing Chemistry, Cosmology, Philosophy, Anatomy, Psychology, and Theology. All the details of the buildings are exquisite in design and workmanship, no two of anything being exactly alike. The metal work, made of an alloy of copper and nickel, is especially noteworthy, even the plates for the electric light wall buttons being each an original design. The stained glass is at present in a transitional state, the windows of the nave being of Grisaille which will ultimately be replaced by colored glass. All the glass has been made in the shops nearby, under the direction of some of the greatest experts in the country, and with some very fine thirteenth century glass belonging to Mr. Pitcairn as model.

and inspiration. The permanent windows are remarkably close to medieval glass in richness of color and beauty of design.⁷³

The liturgy which has been developed by the General Church is also very beautiful. From the first great attention has been paid to forms of worship, and especially to the use of the Word. The early Academy leaders were not satisfied with the translations then in use, on account of their inaccuracies. In 1877 L. H. Tafel wrote: "Any violence done to the Word is therefore a violence done to the Lord; any word omitted from it is, as it were, a fibre torn out of the Divine Human on earth, and every false translation is as a bruise inflicted on it. . . . The Lord as the Word has been crucified anew. His vesture is dipped in blood."⁷⁴ They were also dissatisfied with the Convention liturgies, and set to work to develop one of their own. A need for new rites and ceremonies was felt, and the Council of Clergy in 1887 recommended three: one to signalize arrival at adulthood, another to celebrate the introduction into a particular society or Church, and a third to consist of a public confession of faith.⁷⁵ At this time there was a period of exaggerated ritualism, which was followed by a reaction toward simplicity. The present ritual is a rare blend of richness of esthetic appeal with an almost austere simplicity,—a pleasing contrast to the overloaded ritual of Catholicism. The New Church does not use the term "mystical," and yet there seems to be no other word which adequately describes to those outside the sense of unseen power and deep spiritual reality which pervades the services at Bryn Athyn. The underlying symbolism of their forms of worship is explained as follows: "The ritual of the Old Church makes the crucified human the center, while the ritual of the New Church points to the Lord in His glorified Human. The one sees Him as He hung upon the cross; the other beholds Him exalted as the only God of heaven and earth. The New Church from its inception, has given the same significance and reverence to the opening of the Word as the Catholic Church gives to the elevation of the Host. This simple act

of opening the Word, which is a new thing in Christian worship, was the beginning of New Church ritual. And as this new thing, so all things in our ritual are distinctly new. The objects presented, the signs made, the actions performed, and the words spoken, have a different signification. To us, the white robes of the priest signify the reception of Divine Truth and protection against falsities, not the white garment wherewith Herod in mockery clothed the Lord. In the colors red and blue, we see the love of good and the love of truth, not martyrdom and penance. Lights in the chancel represent to us Divine Wisdom, truth, and faith, descending by correspondence in sunlight, electric light, and candle-light, which have their source in the three kinds of natural fire. In short, all things of ritual in the New Church are intended to represent that which is spiritual, not to signify things which in themselves are merely representatives.”⁷⁶

The present *Liturgy*, published in 1921, is the result of many years of study and experiment. In 1907 Bishop W. F. Pendleton, a master of the art of ritual, said, regarding the edition then being prepared, that it could not be claimed to be anywhere near perfection. “Liturgical work is necessarily progressive.—We acquire experience in the use of it; so that it cannot be expected that any Liturgy which could now be prepared would be of use for all time to come.” He said that in its preparation there had been “a very thorough gleanings from the hymnological literature of the English speaking world,”—that he himself had gone over three or four thousand hymns, and was fully convinced that the cream of hymnology had been selected. Furthermore the selection had been made on a basis of the highest standard of poetry as well as religious truth.⁷⁷ Thus we see the New Church “progressing backwards” toward the forms of religious expression of the Old, and along with Gothic architecture appropriating the best in “Old Church” liturgy.⁷⁸ The result of this very sensible practice is a liturgy entirely appropriate to its setting, and one in which any Anglican churchman would feel at home. But this is not to say that it is in any way an *imitation* of the Anglican form, for it is,

in a very real sense, original. Instead of one form for Morning, and another for Evening Prayer, there are eight General Offices from which a choice may be made, thus avoiding monotony. These Offices have special themes, such as "The Lord," "The Word," "The Church," "Faith," and "Repentance" which are developed antiphonally by readings and chants from the words of Scripture. These are followed by twenty Antiphons, or responsive services, based on such themes as "Advent of the Lord," "Evangelization," "Humiliation of the Lord," "Conjunction with the Human Race," "Divine Providence," etc. Then comes the Psalter, containing seventy-five selections from the Psalms and the Prophets; the Law, selections from the Old Testament; and the Gospel, selections from the New. There is no set creed, but in its place are fourteen General Confessions of Faith from which a choice may be made. The following is an especially beautiful example: "The Lord our Saviour Jesus Christ is Love itself and Mercy itself; He has all wisdom and all knowledge, and is everywhere present. He alone has power to save. Conjunction with Him is eternal life; and they are conjoined with Him who believe in Him and keep His Commandments."⁷⁹

Under the heading General Doctrine, come twenty-two selections from the writings of Swedenborg, corresponding in theme to the Antiphons, and at the end about two hundred short prayers. Except where the Scripture itself is used, the language of the Liturgy is modern, simple, and wholly free from theological pedantry, and yet rhythmical and full of liturgical value. The following prayer is a good example: "Most merciful Lord God, our Saviour and Deliverer, lead us forth, we pray Thee, from the bondage of our evils, and from the dominion of the lusts of the flesh, into the freedom of Thy heavenly kingdom; help us to be worthy of Thy Divine guidance and blessing, that in a life of devotion and service we may give glory to Thy holy name forever."⁸⁰ Under the Sacraments and Rites, besides the usual ones of Baptism, the Holy Supper, Confirmation, Marriage, Ordination, and Burial of the Dead, there is a Rite of Betrothal,

in which this quotation from Swedenborg occurs: "The ends and uses of betrothals are, that the souls of the two may incline toward each other; that the universal love of the sex may be determined to one of the sex; that the interior affections may be mutually known, and by application conjoined in the internal joyousness of love; that the spirits of both may enter into marriage, and be more and more consociated, that conjugal love may thus advance regularly from its first warmth even to the nuptial flame; and finally that conjugal love may grow up in just order from its spiritual origin." The burial service also contains passages from Swedenborg, such as: "Every man is created to live to eternity in a happy state; for He that wills that every man should live to eternity, wills also that he should live in a happy state. What would eternal life be without it? This state of man, indeed, is the end of creation. From these things it is manifest, that eternal life is also eternal happiness."⁸¹

The most striking difference between this Liturgy and those of other churches is its lack of emphasis on the sequence of events in the earthly life of the Lord as found in the Church Calendar. In a criticism in the *New Church Review* this is considered a weakness, this "building the devotional life of the Church, as it were, upon a strictly doctrinal or intellectual scaffold, like a study of *The True Christian Religion* in the order of its chapters, rather than in following the dramatic and personal representation of the redemption as given in the life of Our Lord in the Word, and as rendered objective in the Christian Year! . . . It is upon this basis of personal and objective regard that the Christian Year's observance rests its claim to a peculiar spiritual power in 'preserving what is divine among the people.' The analytic apportionment of our worship according to an intellectual and logical order of abstract theological themes may present a kind of theoretic order suitable to a psychological or theological *seminar*, but it does not accord with human experience, either as regards the successive religious states of the individual, or the combined states of the congrega-

tion.”⁸² The only answer to such a criticism is that, after all, these things are largely a matter of taste, and that lifting the emotional levels of devotion to an abstractly philosophical plane might conceivably produce a higher spiritual effect than the morbid dwelling upon the painful aspects of the Lord’s last days found in Catholicism. The complete absence of such emotional appeals as the Crucifix, the Pietá, and the Stations of the Cross, and the emphasis upon a glorified Lord victorious over human vicissitudes, instead of upon a suffering and dying God, produces a positive atmosphere of hopefulness and well-being almost as strong as that of Christian Science. The effect of a service based upon such doctrinal motives is one of serene and joyous beatification,—a cheerful acceptance of life, and a grateful reception of the divine influx.

A great deal of importance is given to music at Bryn Athyn, due perhaps to Swedenborg’s statements with regard to the singing of the Word as a method of conjoining the human group with the choirs of heaven. The music of the services is of an elaborate nature, consisting of chants and anthems which require considerable skill for an adequate rendering. It was composed especially for the General Church by an English member, Mr. Charles James Whittington, a member of the London Stock Exchange for over fifty years. This financier made the composition of church music his avocation.⁸³ His settings for the psalms fall half-way between the anthem form and the liturgical style. It is perhaps impossible to give a fair judgment on these compositions from the present somewhat inadequate rendering, as they are too difficult and too high pitched for the congregation to sing easily. There are many features about the service which are particularly impressive, especially the absolute quiet and reverent attention of the congregation. There is no offertory to break the devotional atmosphere with its painful opening of pocket-books and clinking of change. The collection plate stands at the door, and offerings are quietly deposited there. Before the service opens, and at its close, two girls in white appear and move softly

about in the lambent violet light of the sanctuary, lighting and extinguishing the tall candles with rhythmical motions. The play of light upon the exquisitely simple white vestments of the clergy is a source of deep esthetic delight, especially in the communion service where the celebrant in his crimson chasuble adds a marvelous strong note of color, clear as a trumpet call.

The sermons are long, and strictly doctrinal. The following brief summary of a sermon on the "Odor of Rest," may suffice to give a general impression of the type of preaching. "The record of the salvation of Noah has been preserved, that in it we might see a universal law of progress, inescapable now to all human souls who would be saved from hell. The altar at which Noah gave sacrifice represents charity and spiritual peace, from which alone can an 'odor of rest' go up to the Lord. The regeneration of the man of the spiritual church cannot take place by a development of his native faculties. The man must be reborn. This is done first by the separation of the salvable things of his understanding from his old will, which is doomed to be flooded with evil. The timbers of the Ark represent these salvable things, these general truths of the understanding, which are taken over from the old world and act as a seed for the new world, that is, for the new man. . . . These singulars of truths act as vessels which the Lord infills with charity, from which is a new will in the man. . . . Then it is that the sphere of charity from the man is perceived by the Lord. The Lord then 'smells an odor of rest,' or, as it is actually said in the Word, He 'breathed the breath of rest.' Yet here a profound law is involved. The odor of rest must come from the altars of charity that are erected in the ultimate degree of the mind. The spiritual heaven is founded only in the natural. This law is what is involved in the Coming of the Lord on earth to save men by the assumption of the Human. From the Altar of His ultimate Human came the 'odor of rest' as the rising response of earth to heaven." ⁸⁴

Perhaps this text will serve as well as any for a description of the "sphere" of the community at Bryn Athyn. It

seems to be itself a living "Altar of charity" from which an "odor of rest" rises perceptibly above the green hills of Pennsylvania. There is a truly charming spirit of fellowship and democracy, in spite of great differences of material wealth. This expresses itself in many ways, among which is the custom of Friday evening suppers at which all the adult members of the community meet together. This custom dates back to the early days in Philadelphia when the small group of Bishop Benade's followers gathered on Friday evenings for doctrinal instruction and an informal repast. As the community now numbers more than seven hundred, the supper is now quite an occasion, but the same informality exists. After supper a hymn is sung and a short lecture is given by one of the clergy. Sometimes this takes the form of a course of lectures on psychology, or some other subject of general interest. Another expression of this fraternal spirit is the holding of picnics in June, also a relic of former times, when the members of the Philadelphia church came out to picnic in Alnwick Grove. In spite of perfectly paved roads, of handsome cars, and beautiful homes, Bryn Athyn has managed to preserve an atmosphere of patriarchal simplicity, along with a high degree of education and culture. Altogether this "Hill of Cohesion" presents an unusually fine example of secular life built upon a doctrinal foundation, and the fact that it is thus permeated by theology gives to its religion, not the conventional status found in so many of the "old" churches, but a vitality which creates visible and beautiful forms for a genuinely unified life.

CHAPTER XI

LIBERALISM IN THE NEW CHURCH

The development of liberalism in the Convention against which the Academy movement was a protest had really commenced as far back as the forties, and manifested itself in various ways. One of these was a reaction against the extreme exclusiveness and sectarianism of the early Church. A contributor to the *Messenger* in 1855 expresses the new attitude thus: "The New Church should, least of all, be sectarian in spirit, for its doctrines are most catholic and comprehensive, teaching that there are infinite varieties of good and grades of truth, which are by no means confined to particular societies, churches, kingdoms or nations, but that each has a species of good and a perception of truth in some respects peculiar to itself."¹ These two opposite viewpoints form the warp and woof of New Church thought in all its many colored patterns,—the underlying fabric upon which is embroidered the intricate design of many a quaint controversy. In this respect the New Church is no whit different from all the "old churches," though the issues are couched in terms peculiar to its own world of thought.

The growth of this new liberalism centers around a few strong personalities, the first of these being the Rev. Benjamin F. Barrett, a former Unitarian minister, who came into the New Church in 1840. His first activity was a series of lectures on New Church doctrine at the Lyceum of Natural History in New York City. These lectures caused a perfect furor and thousands flocked to hear them. The *New York Herald* printed them verbatim, and the "Old Church" ministers attacked them violently. From a publicity standpoint nothing could have been better, but it is reported that they netted very few converts. Barrett was ordained shortly after by Thomas Worcester, and became the pastor of the

New York Society. He soon became one of the leading liberals in the Church, and took an active part in the rebaptism controversy.²

In 1858 Barrett became the editor of a new periodical, the *Swedenborgian*, the policy of which was openly avowed opposition to what it calls the "High Church or Sectarian Party in Convention, which aims at uniformity when variety and freedom *should* be the aim." "We are decidedly opposed to the idea that the New Church is to be a single great ecclesiastical organization like the Church of Rome. We shall assert without qualification, the complete independence of individual congregations in the regulation of their own private affairs; and therefore shall strenuously resist every attempt to establish the subordination of such congregations or their ministers to the control of any extraneous human authority whatever."³ Naturally such sentiments did not endear the Rev. Mr. Barrett to his brethren of the Convention, and indeed, even before the publication of the *Swedenborgian* he had already been dropped from the roll of Convention ministers.⁴ In the *Journal* of 1866 we read: "He has pursued the Convention with great pertinacity and vindictiveness for nearly twenty years; he has charged it, either directly or by implication, with the most base and wicked motives, and the most heinous crimes. . . . He says it is a hierarchy second only to the Romish Church."⁵

Another great enemy of ecclesiasticism in the New Church was Professor George Bush, a well-known philologist and teacher of Oriental Languages in New York University. He was also superintendent of the press of the American Bible Society, publisher of the *Hierophant*, a periodical devoted to the study of prophetic symbolism, and author of several books. Among these were a *Life of Mohammed*, and *Anastasis,—or the Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body Rationally and Spiritually Considered*, a book which aroused strong opposition among the orthodox. He had been ordained into the Presbyterian ministry in 1825, but was dismissed a few years later because of his disbelief in the Scriptural authority for the Presbyterian form of church

government.⁶ In 1845 he first became interested in Swedenborg, and that winter he gave a series of lectures at the Odeon in New York City on the character and claims of Swedenborg to audiences of eighteen hundred persons.⁷ By 1848 he had become wholly converted to the teachings of the New Church, and accepted the leadership of the New York Society, which was then without a minister. In his *Memoirs* he says that he found in Swedenborg a complete philosophy of nature, and the relation between Revelation and Reason. He was not at all impressed with *Heaven and Hell*, as it did not conform to his ideas of the hereafter. "I could not help distrusting," he says, "the clearness of his perceptions. I was continually haunted by the suspicion that his preformed ideas on the subject had both shaped and colored his visions."⁸ His chief stumbling block, however, was the inner sense of the Word. As a deep student of the Bible in its original languages for many years, he found great difficulty in accepting Swedenborg's teaching on this score. But at length he was convinced, and succeeded in convincing his friend, John Bigelow, editor of the *New York Evening Post*, who had discovered Swedenborg while in the West Indies in 1854, and was in the process of conversion.⁹

But Professor Bush was a radical anti-clerical, and became another uncompromising enemy of Convention's growing claims to authority. He refused to submit to rebaptism, and never became an authorized minister of Convention. The only ordination he would accept was an informal one at the hands of a fellow minister. "I must confess to a deep-rooted aversion to the very name of 'priest' and 'priesthood,'" he writes. "I look upon the very institution, as for ages existing and acting as the bane of the church, and the chiefest enginery of the pit against its true interests. . . . As to *ecclesiastical authority*, I know nothing of it."¹⁰ In 1857 he published a small work under the nom-de-plume of "Campagnator," entitled *Priesthood and Clergy unknown to Christianity. Or the Church a Community of Co-equal Brethren*, in which he maintains that the prerogatives of the priesthood are common to all Christians, and that all be-

lievers are ordained by the Holy Spirit. He quotes Martin Luther's letter to the Bohemian brethren: "I should like to know whether Christ, the first priest of the New Testament, stood in need of all the mummeries of episcopal ordination? or whether his apostles and disciples thought these things requisite? All Christians are priests; all may teach the word of God, administer baptism, consecrate bread and wine, for Christ has said, 'Do ye this in memory of me.'"¹¹

When he accepted the leadership of the Brooklyn Society in 1852, "in so doing his view was not to engage among them as a pastor or minister in the ordinary acceptation of the term, but rather as a brother upon a par with all the rest. . . . Having been a long time satisfied that the ordinary distinction between *clergy* and *laity* was unfounded, he was desirous of uniting with a little band, however small, whose sentiments were kindred to his own in regard to the true order of the church, and thus to reduce theory to practice." The practice was not successful for long, however, for the "brother" proved too broad-minded for his society. He committed the fatal act of marrying a divorced man whose wife was in an insane asylum, and several leading families withdrew from the Society. Regarding this he wrote: "They hold that there is *no possible* or *conceivable* ground of divorce but adultery; and as that is not charged, I had no right to marry the parties, and fatally committed the New Church when I did so. The plea is supremely ridiculous, but it shows what narrow minds there are in the world."¹²

As editor of the *New Church Repository*, a new periodical founded in 1848, he waged an energetic warfare on the "hierarchical tendencies of the General Convention." A Western contributor who signs himself "A Voice from Ohio" pleads for the reform of Convention. What is needed is a conference, not a governing body. The Convention is moreover inefficient; its committees do nothing, and all the missionary work is done by outside bodies. When the Tract Board was taken over by the Convention "did it receive a new impulse, and wax stronger and more vigorous under her fostering care? On the contrary, it began from that moment

to droop, and languish and pine away. . . . The cause immediately began to wither, as if touched by some cold and icy hand.”¹⁸ The *New Jerusalem Magazine* took up the challenge: “To say that a General Convention may be dispensed with (for this is often said) is to say that there are no uses common to the Societies of the New Church,—that there is no public good pertaining to them. . . . To argue against general church government because oppressive despots have existed under the pretence of church government, is to argue against an important use solely on the ground of its abuse. . . . Individualism, so prevalent at the present day, continually tempts men to recognize no superior,—to deny the authority of government, as if it were a mere human invention.”¹⁴

Besides these attacks on ecclesiasticism within the Church there were also attacks from without by those who called themselves Swedenborgians, but would not become members of the New Church. The most important of these was Henry James, Senior, who though deeply devoted to the teachings of Swedenborg was strongly anti-ecclesiastical in feeling. His parents were staunch Presbyterians, and sent him to Princeton to be educated for the ministry, but he soon became dissatisfied with the orthodox theology, and left after two years in the Theological School. After this he went through a long period of intense spiritual unrest which ended in the discovery of the writings of Swedenborg, in which he found the answer to many of his problems. His one great lifelong quest was, “given the Creator to find the creation. God is; of His being there is no doubt; but who and what are we?” His son, William James, the philosopher, writes: “He was a religious prophet and genius, if ever prophet and genius there were. He published an intensely positive, radical, and fresh conception of God, and an intensely vital view of our connection with him,” but “he never achieved a truly philosophical formulation of his religious position.” His friend, William Dean Howells (himself raised a Swedenborgian, though he later departed from the Church), complained that James had written a book about

The Secret of Swedenborg, and had kept it! ¹⁵ This book, which treats the writings of Swedenborg as a philosophical system, received unfavorable notice from the ever-watchful *New Jerusalem Magazine*: "The object of the book seems to be to prove Swedenborg a greater philosopher than Hegel.—But Swedenborg is not a metaphysician at all. Up to his revelations he was a scientist, and afterwards a religious teacher, merely relating his revelations. The religious idea must be paramount in the mind of him who would justly appreciate Swedenborg. The love and the life of good should guide his inquiry who would seek to know the Secret of Swedenborg. Sin, to him, must be the most terrible of all things; the love of knowing of secondary account, . . . and then it will be found to be not a philosophical doctrine, but grander far,—a religious life." ¹⁶

But the quarrel between Henry James and the New Church was far from a merely literary one. In 1847 he took the offensive in a Brook Farm publication called *Tracts for the New Times*, No. 1. *A Letter to a Swedenborgian* regarding which the *New Jerusalem Magazine* expressed its outraged feelings thus: "It is not difficult to see that the author belongs to the class of *destructives* who imagine that every positive institution is simply an impediment in the great path of modern progress. We have observed that it has been favorably noticed in some of the newspapers of the day, especially in the *Boston Liberator*. This was to have been expected." ¹⁷ This was followed some years later by another pamphlet, even more drastic, called *The Church of Christ not an Ecclesiasticism, A Letter of Remonstrance to a Member of the soi-disant New Church*, in which he refers scathingly to the New Church's "pernicious identification of itself with the New Jerusalem, or the new church of the Apocalypse." He says that Swedenborg's own writings are an antidote to sectarianism. "How much wider the sympathies of this great man were than they are represented to have been by those who make use of his name to originate a new ecclesiasticism!" He is bitterly opposed to ecclesiasticism in any form. "The churches of the existing sort have

only dwindled ever since the stately days of Moses and Aaron. Starting from that gorgeous prime, they have descended through the diminished pomp of the Romish ritual, and the Anglican attenuation of that, until the acme of desquamation seems at length attained in the pinched and wintry ceremonial of our own Congregationalism. . . . I cannot, indeed, understand how any one who holds to the ecclesiastical conception of the church, can for an instant deny the paramount claims of the Romish hierarchy upon his allegiance." His own position he states thus: "I believe very fully in the interior truths of the Scriptures as they are unfolded by Swedenborg, and I instruct my family in the knowledge of these truths, so far as their tender understandings are capable of receiving them." But his contempt for the New Church was unqualified. "I know of no sect so young that gives such unequivocal proofs of senility as your own; I know no sect so inconsiderable in point of numbers, which has already bred so many 'doting questions and strifes of words,'" ¹⁸

In a letter to the editor of the *Messenger* he is even more wittily caustic. "The old sects are notoriously bad enough, but your sect compares with these very much as a heap of dried cod on Long Wharf in Boston compares with the same fish while enjoying the freedom of the Atlantic Ocean. . . . Why don't you cut the whole concern at once, as a rank offence to every human hope and aspiration? The intercourse I had some years since with the leaders of the sect on a visit to Boston, made me fully aware of their deplorable want of manhood; but judging from your paper, the whole sect seems spiritually benumbed. Your mature men have an air of childishness and your young men have the aspect of old women. I find it hard above all to imagine the existence of a living woman in the bounds of your sect, whose breasts flow with milk instead of hardening with pedantry. . . . I really know of nothing so sad and spectral in the shape of literature [as the *Messenger*]. It seems composed by skeletons and intended for readers who are content to disown their good flesh and blood, and be moved by some

ghastly mechanism. It cannot but prove very unwholesome to you spiritually, to be so nearly connected with all that sadness and silence where nothing more musical is heard than the occasional jostling of bone by bone.”¹⁹ This entertaining invective need not be taken too seriously. Henry James would have felt the same about any church and its literature, and the abused *Messenger*, as a matter of fact, was no worse than other religious periodicals of its day. He was the enemy of all sectarianism, which at the time was so narrow and bigoted, and his special bitterness against the New Church was merely the result of his disappointment that the followers of Swedenborg had not transcended this bigotry.

But Henry James was not altogether a “destructive.” Along with his hatred of sectarianism there went a very definite conception of a spiritual church. “We are to look,” he says, “for a spiritual church, which being identical with the broadest charity in the life of man, must always refuse to become identified with particular persons, particular places, or particular rituals of worship. Heaven is not more distant from earth than is sectarianism, or the desire to separate oneself from others, distant from the mind of the true churchman. . . . The only legitimate newness of the Christian church consists in a newness of spirit among its members, not a newness of letter. . . . Swedenborg says, ‘The Church must needs vary as to doctrine, one society or one man preferring one opinion, and another another. But as long as each lives in charity he is in the Church as to life, whether he be as to doctrine or not, and consequently, the Lord’s Church or kingdom is in him.’ (*Arcana Coelestia*, 3451)—We may all feel therefore, how merited a scorn shall one day betide any communion which excludes such a man from it in the Lord’s name. . . . No one can say of it [the New Jerusalem] lo here! or lo there! any more than he can limit the path of the lightning. . . . The vis formativa in the church, the foundation stone of all religion, is a certain sentiment in the breast of man of disproportion or disunion between him and God, between him and the Infinite. This

sentiment underlies every church in history, underlies the whole religious life of the world. . . . Religion is the affirmation of a higher life for man than that derived from nature,—a life of growing conformity to infinite goodness and truth. . . . The most vernacular and intelligible expression for God's own perfection is *use*, and the divinest form of man is consequently that which he derives . . . from his own frank and cordial and complete adjustment of himself to the various uses, domestic, civil, and religious, which society devolves upon him.”²⁰

There is no doubt that Henry James has had considerable influence in molding the ideas of the later liberals, many of whom have read his works with enthusiasm. At the time of his death in 1883 the *Messenger* paid him the following tribute: “There is a large number in our body who will gratefully remember Henry James as one who has given them valued ideas, and has suggested to them aspects of truth which they have cherished with gratitude through life. . . . Not believing in ecclesiastical organization, Mr. James was unpleasantly affected toward our New Church body, and permitted himself to use at times bitter and contemptuous expressions about us. . . . But these are matters which will soon be forgotten, and as the years roll on we doubt not the contribution which Henry James has made to the comprehension of the philosophy of the New Church will take its true place in the history of its growth, and will be found to have been an efficient influence in helping on to the true comprehension of our heavenly teachings.”²¹

As a matter of fact, the author of the above editorial, the Rev. Charles H. Mann, was the next prominent New Churchman to develop anti-ecclesiastical tendencies. In 1897 he wrote a couple of editorials called *A Non-Ecclesiastical Ecclesiasticism* which received a great deal of criticism.²² In these he stated that the only excuse for a church is *use*. The influence of Henry James is quite apparent in these utterances. Repeated statements of his attitude brought him into conflict with the Convention, and at last, in 1902, he was removed from his position as editor of the *Messenger*, which

he had filled ably for a quarter of a century.²³ He later resigned from his pastorate of the Orange Society, and moved to Elkhart, Ind., where he began an entirely new venture, which is described thus: "A new and unique religious sect or society is being formed in Elkhart, Ind., the leaders of the movement being prominent socially. The original tenet of the new cult is that Divine worship should never be conducted in a Church, but in the home, the workshop, or the business office. The society will be known as the New Church."²⁴ Mr. Mann's slogan was "Religion in the Workshop," and his purpose was to embody Swedenborg's teaching that "the life of religion is to do good." He began the publication of a new periodical, *The Secular Church: the Divine in Business*, in which he characterized the acts of formal worship by means of ritual as "but the play of religion."²⁵ In an article in the *Messenger* he developed this idea more fully, bringing upon himself much criticism. "Is it not a rational supposition that Christianity is approaching its puberty," writes Mr. Mann; "that therefore its votaries are beginning to tire of the plays which were once the chief expressions of religious emotions; that the worship of God in ritual is, therefore, relegated with the spiritually minded man or woman to its place as a recreative and spontaneous expression only, to be used for purposes of religious refreshment and rest; and that it has been succeeded by a more substantial real expression in the life of justice and charity?"²⁶ Although Mr. Mann's official connection with the General Convention was never resumed, he remained for many years a brilliant writer and lecturer on the teachings of the New Church.

This anti-ecclesiasticism was, however, only one phase of the rising tide of liberalism in the Convention. The question of the relation of the New Church to other churches became a burning issue. In 1880 Barrett had read a paper before the Conference of Ministers in which he made the revolutionary statement that the New Church is not essentially distinct from the old, but "a homogeneous continuation of it." This was naturally hotly contested by the Acad-

emy leaders in particular.²⁷ But the most important move in this direction was a Memorial presented to the Convention in 1880 by Otis Clapp of Boston, and ninety-three others. "We desire especially that the attitude of the organized New Church may no longer continue to be one of seeming antagonism or conscious superiority to other religious bodies, but rather one of modest self-appreciation, and kindly fraternal recognition of other Christians. . . . There is little danger, we think, of becoming too broad in our sympathies, too catholic in our feelings, or too conciliatory in our disposition and attitude toward others. The danger, we submit, lies wholly in the opposite direction. We believe there never has been and never can be more than one Church, in the large and comprehensive sense of the term, at any given time,—though this like the human body, may consist of a great variety of parts. We believe that since the time of the Last Judgment (1757), the New Church, signified by the New Jerusalem, has been and continues to be the only Church on earth. We believe that this Church is much larger and more inclusive than any sect; that it is distinguished less by its beliefs or doctrines than by *righteousness of life*,—love to the Lord and the neighbor being its great fundamental. . . . We believe, therefore, that members of the New Church are to be found in all existing religious bodies,—and some, doubtless, outside of all; for we cannot doubt that there are, both within and without such bodies, *some* who truly love the Lord and the neighbor; while some who accept the doctrines of this Church, and join the organization bearing its name, may be quite destitute of its heavenly spirit, and in reality constitute no part of it."²⁸

"We believe that, since the time, and in consequence of the Last Judgment, there has been and continues to be a freer, more interior and more universal influx of spiritual good and truth into all humble, earnest and truth-seeking minds,—giving them more enlightenment on subjects of transcendental interest. . . . Believing thus, and finding for our belief the amplest justification in the teachings here referred to, as well as in reason and the written Word, we are

anxious that the body which assumes the name and stands as the most conspicuous representative of the New Church at this time, should by its declared policy and its attitude toward Christians, exemplify the grand catholicity of this Church. We do not deprecate a separate organization based upon the New Doctrines; this perhaps, was unavoidable, and has doubtless been useful. We would not lessen but gladly increase its efficiency and usefulness. . . . We desire especially that the Convention cease to claim for itself any special prerogatives, any special right to the Christian name or ordinances or any special efficacy in the latter when administered by its own officials; that it frankly admit (and have its admission promptly recorded) that these ordinances are equally valid, efficacious and significant, when reverently administered by Christians of whatever name or creed. . . . [By this action] you will remove all just grounds for the charge or even suspicion of narrowness and illiberality. You will regain the affection and confidence of brethren who have been alienated by what (to them) has seemed like a sectarian exclusiveness. You will,—we doubt not, open new channels of usefulness and new avenues for the descent of the Divine Spirit, and many souls will be thereby blessed.”²⁹

This remarkable document, penned by one of the Church’s greatest laymen, may well be called the *Magna Charta* of New Church liberalism. The committee to which it was submitted reported the following year as follows: “It gives us great pleasure to say that we fully agree with many of the sentiments contained in the memorial, and that we heartily sympathize with the purpose of the memorialists, even while compelled to differ with them in regard to the wisest means of accomplishing that purpose. . . . We have no evidence that there is any religious body that would accept our fraternal advances, and co-operate with us in what we regard as the special work committed to our hands. What religious body, even the most liberal, would assist us in propagating the doctrine of the New Church? There is not one. . . . The New Church cannot hope for any sympathy or encouragement from the prevalent religious bodies of the world.

It must stand alone, and do its work with such means and wisdom as lie in its hands.”⁸⁰ But in spite of rebuffs the spirit of liberalism continued to grow.

One of the most prominent liberals of this time was the Rev. Chauncey Giles, president of the Convention. In 1884 at the Centennial Anniversary of the New Church in America he addressed the Convention thus: “By the New Church, in its origin and seminal principles, we understand a new disclosure of Divine and consequently of universal truth, which will constitute a New Age. Regarded abstractly from persons or places, it is a new and more powerful influx of Divine Truth into every degree of creation, and into every created being and thing. Such a force must be universal in its operation. It must affect all churches and classes of men, the evil as well as the good, the false as well as the true. It must draw the lines more distinctly between truth and error, between good and evil. . . . It is a new point of view; it is a distinct step from lower to higher planes of thought; from nature to spirit; from the special to the universal, from human opinion to immutable laws. Its point of view is the divine humanity of the Lord.”⁸¹ This definition of the New Church as a spiritual dispensation, rather than as an institution, has continued steadily to win its way against the old narrow sectarianism of the early Church.

Along with a more liberal attitude in the affairs of the Church, there also came, in the forties, a newly awakened interest in science, and somewhat less preoccupation with the problems of theology. This interest centered naturally around Swedenborg’s scientific works and their relation to the science of the world. In England the Swedenborg Association was formed under the leadership of such men as Dr. James John Garth Wilkinson for the purpose of translating and publishing these practically unknown works of Swedenborg. Dr. Wilkinson may well be called the first Swedenborgian scientist in England, for he not only translated the *Regnum Animale*, and other works of Swedenborg, but also wrote several highly original works of his own, such as *The Physics of Human Nature*, and *The Human Body*.

in which he treats the science of anatomy and physiology in relation to Revelation in a thoroughly Swedenborgian way. For years he was dissatisfied with the orthodox medical theory in which he had been educated, and finally adopted the new theories of Homeopathy. He wrote a *Life of Swedenborg* in which he takes a decidedly liberal view of the great Seer's life and teachings. This made him unpopular with the English New Church, of which he was not a member, being on principle a non-separatist. He was the only Swedenborgian of his day in England of high standing in the scientific and literary world; and had many connections and close personal friendships among the literary leaders of America, such as Emerson, James, Greeley, Brisbane, and Dana.³²

In America this interest in the scientific works of Swedenborg first appeared in Bath, Maine, where a small group under the leadership of Zina Hyde coöperated with Otis Clapp of Boston in the publication of some of these works. Unfortunately they were unable to get any support from the Convention, and the project was abandoned.³³ The next group to take up the scientific works was the Academy group, who from the start took a somewhat high-handed attitude toward the science of the day. They were inclined toward a belief in Swedenborg's infallibility as a scientist as well as a theologian. This attitude is expressed in an article, in *Words for the New Church* in 1879, called "Science in the Light of the New Church": "The New Church has no conflict with true Science but is in full harmony with it and rests upon it. Much of the Science of the present day, however, is so filled with Naturalism that it does not acknowledge Divine Revelation and comes into direct conflict with it. We must therefore distinguish between true Science and that which is false.—Physiology stumbles at the very initialement of fecundation and Botany introduces the fallacy that plants are male and female, possessing organs, which are compared to the generative parts of animals of both sexes. Swedenborg, presenting us with the true state of things, teaches that plants are all male, the earth only, being female."³⁴ The

same point of view is reiterated in the *New Church Life* almost twenty years later: "Modern Science not only does not begin with the Lord, nor seek to confirm the celestial and spiritual things of the Church, but questions whether there be such things. Swedenborg says that through scientifc man can be wise or insane. He is wise through scientifcs when by them he confirms the truths and goods of the Church,—and he is insane by scientifcs when by them he weakens or refutes the truths of the Church."⁸⁵

The question of the infallibility of Swedenborg's "scientifcs" became a sharp issue in the Academy. When the question arose in the Assembly in 1899 it was decided that he was not infallible in the beginning, before his revelations began, that his science was the science of his day and therefore faulty, and that he had grown in illumination.⁸⁶ But the opposite attitude was taken by a group called the Principia Club, under the leadership of an extraordinary woman, Miss Lillian Beekman, a recent convert and teacher in the department of science. They found that the scientific works of Swedenborg were infallible, but that their truth could only be discovered by a process of "interior thought." Miss Beekman wrote some very interesting books, among them, *The Kingdom of the Divine Proceeding*, and *The Kingdom of the Divine Returning*, which were used as text books in the Academy Schools. A controversy on the subject between the Principia Club and the Academy liberals appeared in the *New Church Life* in 1903. Prominent among the liberals was Alfred H. Stroh, a graduate of the Academy, who was sent to Sweden in 1902 in connection with the project of phototyping the Swedenborg manuscripts, translating and publishing the scientific works, and research work in the documents relating to his life and writings. On his return in 1903 Mr. Stroh taught for two years in the schools. His researches in Sweden had convinced him that the extreme position held by the Principia Club was untenable,—that Swedenborg's thought showed a perfectly normal development, and that his science and philosophy showed unmistakably the influence of Descartes, Newton, Locke, Leibnitz,

Wolff, and Aristotle. In other words, his science and philosophy were perfectly normal products of the human mind, and not a divine revelation.³⁷

The liberal view was also held by most of the members of the Swedenborg Scientific Association, which was founded in 1898 "to preserve, translate, publish, and distribute the scientific and philosophical works of Emanuel Swedenborg; and to promote the principles taught in these works having in view likewise their relation to the science and the philosophy of the present day."³⁸ This organization, composed of members of both the General Convention and the General Church, published a magazine, the *New Philosophy*, devoted to these purposes. Among its most active members were the Rev. Lewis F. Hite, professor of philosophy at the Convention Theological School, the Rev. Frank Sewall, pastor of the Washington Society, the two Tafels, scholars of the Academy, and Dr. Wilkinson of London. These men earnestly combated the point of view of the Principia Club for many years, until finally a reaction took place in the Academy itself in favor of a more rational and less esoteric attitude. Miss Beekman herself deserted the New Church completely, and went into a Roman Catholic convent, and the Principia Club was broken up.³⁹ In a letter to Bishop N. D. Pendleton from Upsala in 1918, Mr. Stroh refers to the change in the Academy thus: "My well known standpoint in favor of a free critical research in this field brought me into conflict with the dogmatic authority standpoint which the leaders, influenced by Miss Beekman, began to apply also to Swedenborg's early works, leading to the great controversy and to a reaction on the part of Mr. John Pitcairn and other clear-sighted men who perceived the danger, especially after Mr. Pitcairn's attempt to 'convert' me. You also after 1913 had a change of heart and view, which everyone believes has led to greater freedom in the Academy, for the previous Bishops resolutely refused to depart from the extreme authority position, avoiding all discussion of critical difficulties in Swedenborg's works, while you have been perfectly fair in your treatment of all parties."⁴⁰

If Swedenborg had confined his "scientifics" to his earlier works in that field, the problem would have been a simple one. It would have been easy to admit that before his illumination he was simply an eighteenth century scientist, though a remarkably advanced one, and liable to the errors of his day. But unfortunately when he undertook his great work in theology he continued to use scientific facts to illustrate his points, and some of those "facts" are no longer acceptable in the light of modern science. The most serious of these discrepancies are his theories with regard to the sex of plants, the spontaneous generation of insects, and the creation of man. These questions began to agitate both the Academy and the Convention at the beginning of the century, and the periodicals are full of discussions between the liberals and the authoritarians in both bodies. With regard to the sex of plants, Professor Frank Very, chief astronomer of the Westwood Observatory, who made a lifelong study of the science of Swedenborg which appeared after his death in two large volumes, *An Epitome of Swedenborg's Science*, stated quite frankly in 1915 that Swedenborg was wrong,—the sex of plants having been demonstrated by science beyond the shadow of a doubt.⁴¹ But the next year an article in the *New Church Life* still clings to the orthodox belief. "The marvellous structural resemblance between the animal spermatozoon and the vegetable antherozoid, and between the animal egg and the vegetable oosphere, together with the apparently analogous phenomena of animal and vegetable hybridization, has led scientists to ascribe bi-sexuality to plants, and nothing but Divine Revelation can show the fallacy of this ascription."⁴² In the *New Church Review* the following simple explanation of the error appears: "By the time the doctrine of the sex of plants was scientifically established, Swedenborg was dead. He was already an old man, and immersed in theology, when his friend Linnæus won a prize in 1760 for his Dissertation on the subject. . . . Swedenborg was simply wrong, just as he was in accepting Aristotle's theory of the generation of insects from putrefaction, and the origin of soul and body. He simply made

a wrong analogy of seeds,—he thought them male semen (confusion of Latin words) as the true functions of the pollen and the ova were not yet understood.”⁴³

But the problem of the origin of man is a more acute one. The Rev. John Worcester, of the New England school of theology, was the first to accept the hypothesis of evolution. He evolved a theory of a “hominine animal,” which started at the bottom of the ladder, like the other forms of life, but because it held within it the intrinsic man nature, outstripped the others and developed its latent humanity into actuality. Thus, though man evolved through the various animal forms, he was never merely an animal, but always man, at least *in posse*.⁴⁴ This was criticized by the Rev. C. Th. Odhner of the Academy, who held to an immediate creation of all the animal and human forms in a moment. A third theory, the “arboreal theory,” was held by some. This extraordinary idea was derived from *The Worship and Love of God*, a fanciful and poetical little work written in the transitional period of Swedenborg’s life, between his scientific and theological works. The book is a charming allegory, or Platonic myth, and it seems inconceivable that any one should take it literally as a scientific account of the creation,—yet such is the case. The theory is, briefly, that animal and human forms of life were created as seeds produced by a special tree. These seeds were gently deposited by the tree on the earth where they were hatched out by the warm sunshine. They were suckled by the tree itself until they were able to care for themselves.⁴⁵

Other attempts have been made besides the “hominine animal” theory to formulate a scientific New Church hypothesis of evolution. The Rev. Emanuel Goerwitz, a Convention minister in the Swiss New Church, writes: “In the recognition of both continuous and discrete degrees, and of the interactions of both in the process of Evolution, New Church philosophy must ever differ from atheistic representatives of evolution. Science knows only continuous degrees, and thereby loses the clear and abiding lines of demarcation between plant and animal, and animal and man,

and man and God. Each opening of a discrete degree is an act of creation by the Lord. And in the changes wrought by continuous degrees, the Lord equally is the moving power.”⁴⁶ And the Rev. H. Clinton Hay, pastor of the Boston Society, states the matter thus: “In 1763 Emanuel Swedenborg published a work entitled *Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom*, which gives the New Church philosophy of creation. The three kingdoms of nature,—mineral, vegetable, and animal,—are regarded as forms of use ascending to man in orderly and progressive series of unfolding and development. Here we have anticipated by nearly a century the true essence of the theory of evolution. . . . The underlying ‘Conatus,’ or endeavor, in all matter is of spiritual origin.”⁴⁷ The Academy too has its evolutionists. Professor Charles R. Pendleton, head of the department of science in the Academy, in an article on *The Academy's Adaptation to Science*, says: “We cannot change the facts of observation. . . . The Philosophy of science is an intermediate plane, and that is where adaptation can take place. Certain teachings of Swedenborg seem opposed to science, especially spontaneous generation and the sexes in plants. Spontaneous generation was an idea of Aristotle held down to the nineteenth century until Pasteur destroyed it. . . . But the most serious problem is the origin of man.—The chief difficulty is animal ancestry in favor of which we have overwhelming evidence from science. . . . Geology, Embryology, and Morphology are all against the fiat and the arboreal theories.” He then goes on to promulgate what he calls the “microcosmic theory,” which is “that there have been three lines of development from the start, the plant, the animal, and the human, each from its own ‘seeds.’ What in the Grand Man corresponds to the prenatal stage in the individual, in which there is a human soul, but not an immortal soul, is a kind of human animal with only the possibility of immortality. There is a chain of successive forms, human and animal forms, which precede the true human being. It starts with a single cell, progresses up through stages similar to certain animals, as

does the human embryo, and somewhere along the way it achieves a human mind, and becomes truly human. . . . This theory has only a few differences from the modern scientific theory of evolution.”⁴⁸

Thus we find the scholars of the New Church faced with the problem of correlating the theology of Swedenborg with the science and philosophy of the present day. To quote Professor Pendleton again,—“New Church theology, like Athena, was born full-grown. Its philosophy is being correlated with its Theology almost completely,—but the correlation with science is almost non-existent. It can never be done once for all, because science is changing,—therefore every generation must make its own new adaptation. . . . Trained scholars and scientists are needed, and it must be laboratory, and not book training.”⁴⁹ With respect to this “new Scholasticism,” the Rev. Charles W. Harvey, of the Convention, writes: “What we need is to do for ourselves just what Swedenborg and all the Scholastics did for themselves,—to apply not merely to Swedenborg’s own terms, but to the things of our faith and hope, to which he tries to introduce us, the severest dialectic, to find out just what we mean when we are dealing with them; what is the specific field of our experience to-day which they are especially intended to light; how far they illuminate the knowledge we have of that experience; where they show the knowledge of its actuality ends, and the vision of its possibility begins. We need instead of reiterating the usages of Swedenborg, to apply to his terms just the methods we have seen Aquinas applying to such terms as happiness, final end, faith, love, and the like.”⁵⁰ With regard to the New Church and the world of modern thought, Dr. John R. Swanton, of the Smithsonian Institution, and one of the most active of the Convention liberals says that the New Church needs to keep more abreast of the times. Swedenborg himself suggested concepts in science and in Biblical research that were revolutionary in his day, and for a time the New Church was a truly progressive body, but now that much of Swedenborg’s science is discredited, the members of the Church are acting

just like members of all the other churches. Some oppose science altogether, and others try to reconcile the differences, whereas the only science which the New Church needs to concern itself with is the science of correspondences, the relation of inner to outer, which requires "no defense mechanism against natural truth, and no mental inhibitions."⁵¹

As we have seen the periodicals of the New Church have served as a forum in which all the controversial questions have been discussed. This is especially true of the *Messenger*, which almost from its birth has been a storm center. Its first editor, the Rev. William B. Hayden, of Portland, Maine, remained in his position from 1855 to 1862, but the next incumbent, the Rev. J. P. Stuart, came into conflict with the Boston group on account of his Academy doctrines, and was removed after only three years. The third editor, the Rev. Chauncey Giles, was one of the Convention's most beloved figures, but even so conciliatory a nature as Mr. Giles' was sorely tried. He wrote in 1870: "Great fault is found with the *Messenger* because it is not ecclesiastical enough, and does not teach as fully as it should the doctrines of the Church as revealed truth, and does not refer enough to Swedenborg as 'authority.'"⁵² (Sixty years later a parallel instance occurred, when the following resolution was offered at an annual meeting of the New York Association: "Resolved, that this meeting of the New York Association deplores the lack of definite New Church teachings that characterizes the *New Church Messenger* and calls upon Convention to do all in its power to remedy this defect in its official organ."⁵³) Mr. Giles was succeeded by the Rev. Charles H. Mann, who remained in office in spite of ever-increasing friction and criticism for about twenty-five years. In 1895 the *Messenger* was criticized as being "too technical, philosophical, and metaphysical for the average man," for "treating petty questions and leaving out important ones,"—and for being "too conservative!"⁵⁴ By 1902 this last criticism would hardly have been made, for the editor had developed an interest in spiritual healing, an attitude of warm support toward the woman movement, socialistic tendencies,

and finally a strong anti-ecclesiastical sentiment! The Convention of that year devoted most of its time to discussion of the *Messenger*, the result being that it was voted to elect the editor directly from the floor of the Convention, instead of allowing the Board to appoint him, and the Rev. Mr. Mann was removed from office.⁵⁵ He was succeeded by Mr. Eby, who resigned after three years. The next incumbent, the Rev. John S. Saul, belonged to the conservative party, and received his share of abuse from their opponents, but carried on bravely for sixteen years in the face of increasing financial difficulties. For the Convention has never given the *Messenger* more than a half-hearted support. The reports of the editors from year to year prove this fact, and also how impossible it has been for any one, no matter how able or how tactful, to satisfy both sides.

In 1921 the Rev. E. M. Lawrence Gould was elected to succeed Mr. Saul, and since then there has been little complaint of the *Messenger* as "too conservative." The following year a lively discussion of liberal issues was carried on, and the character of the magazine considerably altered. In 1923 this alteration in character became an issue in the Council of Ministers. An objection was made to the new subtitle, "A Weekly Journal of the New Christianity," to which the reply was made that the *Messenger's* intention was to be a missionary journal to the world, and not a mere "Convention round-robin."⁵⁶ But the first gun was fired in the present "Fundamentalist-Modernist" controversy in 1924 in an editorial entitled: "The Messenger Takes Sides." This article states that it was inevitable that the Fundamentalist-Modernist issue should appear in the New Church since it is not one merely of dogmas, but of principles,—of two irreconcilable positions. Swedenborg himself made the choice for the New Church,—it is of necessity a progressive church with spiritual freedom as its essential. "But there are those in this body who dispute this,—who would shift that infallible authority which Luther transferred from the Pope to the Bible onto the capacious shoulders of Emanuel Swedenborg. New Church liberals do not question the Di-

vine origin of the teachings of Swedenborg, nor the Virgin Birth, but the issue is the use to be made of the teachings. Must they be laid on the shelf, or can they be studied in the light of all the new knowledge of the world, and will they stand the test? The *Messenger* out of loyalty to the new spirit, declares itself modernist, but promises to give the other side all the chance it wants for a free discussion.”⁵⁷ This brought on a severe attack in the next Convention, on the ground that the *Messenger* represents the Convention, and should be non-partisan. Also, “it should be representative of the New Church, not a forum for the discussion of economics or psychology or Bolshevism.”⁵⁸ There are, therefore, two issues in the present controversy, the issue of Swedenborg’s infallibility, and the issue of the relation of the New Church to all the problems of our present day civilization.

The first issue was taken up by the *Messenger* in a series of articles on *Constructive Liberalism*, by the Rev. William F. Wunsch, professor of theology at the Theological School, who states it as follows: “To the New Church Modernist the Second Coming is a process of Divine opening of the human mind; a process which was inaugurated by the opening of the mind of Emanuel Swedenborg, but which continues after him and,—so far as conscious influence is concerned,—apart from him. The New Church Fundamentalist regards the Second Coming as *consisting in* the opening of Swedenborg’s mind and in the effects of that opening on the minds of those who know and accept his teachings. The one regards all the new knowledge which has come into the world since the Last Judgment as part of and contributory to the Second Coming, whereas the other holds that all the truth we need or ever will need is to be found in the doctrines.” He further declares that the Convention expressed itself definitely on this issue when it repudiated the Academy authoritarian viewpoint, and the Fundamentalists are out of line with that decision.⁵⁹

In 1902 a special committee brought in a report to the Convention which attempted to answer the questions,

"whether the Lord wrote Swedenborg's theological books through Swedenborg, or whether Swedenborg wrote them of himself from the Lord," and "whether or not the books are the Word,"—or in other words, the nature and extent of Swedenborg's illumination. There was of course no difference of opinion possible on the fact of their being Divine revelation of some sort, for Swedenborg had stated in all humility that they were not the products of his own mind, but truly Divine revelation. The things revealed are the doctrines of the New Church which Swedenborg received through the Word by means of the science of correspondence, and by direct revelation from the Lord in the spiritual world. His writings are not a new Word, but a revelation of doctrines hitherto hidden *in* the Word and disclosed through a human instrument, Swedenborg. The revelation came to him while reading the Word by an opening of his mind to a perception of hidden truths. He received it into his understanding, and gave it the best verbal expression he could. There was no oral or verbal dictation,—the thoughts were the Lord's but the words were Swedenborg's. His manuscripts are full of erasures and corrections, showing that he tried several ways of expression before he was satisfied. He says the prophets in the Scriptures wrote directly from dictation, their utterances were the Word of God, but not his. He was subject to human limitations, and could only reveal as much as he was able to put into human words,—therefore he does not give the inner sense completely or continuously, but only enough to derive the doctrines from for the New Church.⁶⁰

Now and then there is a glimmer of lightness and humor in the periodicals of the New Church. The following delightful discussion of this solemn subject of Swedenborg's revelation comes from the pen of the late Rev. Adolph Roeder who combined a Franciscan quality of childlike simplicity and brightness with an intellectual keenness worthy of a Jesuit. The article is called *Relays*. "Now when any reader of Swedenborg is told by some one in whom he has faith that Swedenborg 'received the Doctrines of the New

Church by direct revelation from the Lord,' he takes that statement for granted, and it takes shape in his mind as a matter of 'verbal inspiration.' And this he holds on to more or less grimly, according to the amount of power of innate mental inertia that is his. But as he becomes mentally adult, he inclines to see certain quite definite 'relays' along the road from Swedenborg's 'subconscious mind' downward and outward to print and paper. I have always admitted to myself that Swedenborg received an absolutely perfect 'Divine Revelation' in his subconscious mind, but that it suffered quite a few modifying changes as it passed through several 'relays.' The first of these was the matter of handwriting,—and in this matter I have always had in mind four particularly horrible examples: Horace Greeley, Frank Sewall, Constantine Hering, and Emanuel Swedenborg. . . . Much of his *Spiritual Diary*, especially portions which he did not expect to use for publication, is most abominably illegible. I speak from trying experiences, since I rarely speak (or write) in public without testing each statement with the utmost care, involving, in many instances, close and careful reference to his original manuscripts as covered for us in the Photolithograph. This has given me considerable skill in such decipherment, and has left a very decided impression on my mind that the deciphering is largely guesswork. So I have in my own mind and for private use, as the first relay between the reader and Swedenborg's actual message as it reached his subconscious mind, the group of earnest, loyal, and faithful men who tried to read his manuscript and largely guessed their way through his chirography. . . . The handwriting of the Seer *must* be reckoned with. And after we have passed this first line of resistances we come to the second,—the printer. . . . He had few types; his facilities were of the crudest; he probably printed books on an elbow or knuckle joint press—it is a marvel that he got anything straight. . . . When Johann Friedrich Emanuel Tafel of Tuebingen began his editorial work, he revised much of the earlier printing. . . . And so the 'literal dictation' theory must once more adjust itself to the fact that a printer

is not inerrant, though the original Message may be. . . . Another relay must be allowed for, and that is the coinage of new words called for by the Message. There were about eighteen new words that Swedenborg had to coin, and thirty-odd that he had to reconstruct as to the meaning they were to convey. Here was concentrated trouble for the translator. . . . Consider the disturbed imaginations, when the Tafels found they had to make a new word, *liebthätigkeit*, for the concept of *Charitas*, which was absent from the German. . . . All of these ‘relays’ or ‘wrappings’ must be allowed for in getting at the real meaning of Swedenborg’s message. Otherwise what value would there be to the sentence: ‘Now it is permitted (permissible) to enter intellectually into the mysteries of faith?’”⁶¹

Not only are the writings of Swedenborg a subject of controversy between the Modernists and the Fundamentalists, but so also is the Scripture itself. In the beginning the New Church took a complacent attitude toward the “Higher Criticism,” thinking that it had nothing to fear. Swedenborg himself had been decidedly radical in his treatment of Genesis. So for many years the New Church was ahead of the others in its rejection of literalism. An article in the *New Jerusalem Magazine* in 1840 regarding some researches of the French Academy of Science in the chronology of the Bible shows this early complacency. “For ourselves, we have no fear lest the calculations of M. Thirolier shall be fully confirmed by the Academy. Such discoveries are on the contrary very interesting to us who know that the Lord permits them at the present day, after having revealed to the world in his new dispensation by means of Swedenborg, that the book of his Writings, Genesis, which he dictated to Moses does not contain a chronology, but that it has an internal spiritual sense, in which years and numbers do not signify years and numbers, but spiritual states, their progressions and their qualities.”⁶² But as Biblical criticism developed it soon became apparent that it was going far beyond Swedenborg in the work of demolition, and instead of continuing in the van, the New Church found itself in the rear

along with the "old churches." This painful situation produced the usual "defense mechanism," and an antagonistic attitude toward modern scholarship. An article dramatically named *The Old Testament in the Critic's Den* states that "the negative 'Higher Critics' are a host of infidels attacking the citadel of our faith, in short, our very foundations."⁶⁸ Elsewhere it is stated that they "divide up the Book of Genesis into three older documents, the 'Yahwistic,' the 'Elohistic,' and the 'Priestly.' By plausible 'conjectures,' by inferences, and by generalizations based upon isolated statements, they give an air of historicity to their fictions."⁶⁹

The Rev. Everett King Bray, chairman of the Committee on Biblical Criticism and professor of theology at the Theological School, states the conservative position as follows: "If we have seemed to dwell on the negative effect of Biblical criticism it is not that we mean to discredit or minimize the existence of positive effects. Of these there are enough amply to justify the science as a science, destined to be overwhelmingly affirmative of the spiritual truth that the Bible, in its specially inspired Books, is the Word of the Lord. The science of criticism will testify to this not only because of the conspicuous failure of those materialists who have pursued the study with the utmost will to *discredit* the Bible as Revelation. We know, in the New Church that the holiness and accuracy of the Word comes from the operation of the Spirit of the Lord, selecting from the minds of those who wrote (even often unconsciously to themselves) exactly such words as most exactly express, by correspondence and representative, the Divine and spiritual purposes and truth which it is of the Divine Will and Wisdom for man to have, and which by that correspondence shall serve as a medium of communication between the Lord and man and angels, and between the heavens and man. Having this knowledge by special revelation, we may well trust that textual and historical criticism, with the progress of archeological penetration into the ancient past, and with the increase of enlightenment which grows in proportion as the 'self-conceits' natural to all mental research are replaced by the pure passion for

truth itself, must eventually demonstrate the integrity of the Word, even to its letter as the divinely given bodying-forth of the Divine truth.”⁶⁵

The Modernists, on the other hand, of whom Mr. Wunsch is the leader, are inclined to accept the findings of the Higher Criticism as valid. For more than fifteen years Mr. Wunsch held the chair of theology in the Theological School, now occupied by Mr. Bray, during which time criticism of his Modernist teaching has been steadily increasing, until the crisis was reached at the 1930 Convention. Some time before the Convention an unofficial conference was held to consider the question, and a circular containing frank and open statements of both sides was prepared and sent out to all members of the Convention. “If the Church can meet this and similar situations in the spirit of charity and harmony, no harm will be done by open and frank discussion.” It is stated (possibly in a “spirit of charity”) that during the twenty years Mr. Wunsch has been on the faculty of the School there has been a noticeable decline in the entire organization, “which some think has been due in part to his influence.” The next accusation is a more serious one. “Of course, loyal New Churchmen must believe that Swedenborg’s exposition of the internal sense of Scripture, resting as it does upon the letter of Scripture as contained in the *Textus Receptus* used by Swedenborg, practically validates that text, and justifies his assertion that the Word of the Lord has been preserved unmutilated through the ages. Whoever among New Churchmen questions that belief on the grounds of the disputed claims of some modern scholars in the field of Biblical studies certainly lays himself open to the suspicion of disloyalty and of unscholarliness. Certainly we should expect a truly scholarly and wholly loyal New Churchman to be the last person to yield uncritical assent to the destructive assertions of the ‘Higher Criticism.’⁶⁶ . . . Furthermore, not only in the field of the ‘Higher Criticism,’ but also in that of religious literature in general, Mr. Wunsch has a very high respect and admiration for the popularizers of modern thought,—such men as

Walter Rauschenbusch and especially Harry Emerson Fos-dick, the trend of whose influence is decidedly toward Unitarianism. Their lines of thought permeate his own mind, and produce a condition unfavorable to wholly affirmative consideration of what Swedenborg sets forth in his Writ-ings.” Also, “Mr. Wunsch has a domineering, arrogant, and intolerant personality. Those pupils who venture to question his views are likely to meet with rude and unsympathetic treatment.⁶⁷ . . . In conclusion, and on the basis of the evidence set forth above,⁶⁸ we re-affirm our contention that from the standpoint of the New Church Mr. Wunsch is lacking (a) in loyalty, (b) in scholarship, and (c) in personality, and that his influence at our theological School should come to an end as soon as practicable.”⁶⁹

These accusations are taken up one by one and ably an-swered by Mr. Wunsch’s adherents, with copious testimonials from both within and without the Church as to his high scholarship, and warm tributes from former pupils as to the inspirational quality of his teaching, “his sympathy for the earnest student, his fairness in judgment, his heartfelt sym-pathies,”—in short, his personality.⁷⁰ But the best refutation was that made by Mr. Wunsch himself on the floor of the Convention, when, along with a touchingly sincere admission of personal shortcomings, he gave a straight-forward and manly defense of his educational aims and ideals.⁷¹ The test vote came immediately afterwards in the election of four members of the Board of Managers of the Theological School to take the place of those whose terms had expired. The Convention registered its decision by voting down the two candidates who stood openly opposed to Mr. Wunsch, and the matter was considered closed. The Modernists had won a close, but clear-cut victory. Therefore imagine the surprise of all when it was revealed that the new Board at its first meeting, immediately after the Convention, had removed Mr. Wunsch from the chair of theology, and re-placed him with a well-known Fundamentalist! The Rev. Frederic R. Crownfield, one of Mr. Wunsch’s staunchest young adherents, was also removed from his position as in-

structor in church history. The protests were immediate and violent, and an explanation demanded from the Board of Managers. In his explanation the Rev. Arthur Wilde, chairman of the Board, stated that the action had been unanimous, and had been taken as a necessary compromise for the peace of the Church. Mr. Wunsch was offered the position of professor of sacred languages, Bible introduction, and church history, which he accepted on condition that Mr. Crownfield also be retained.⁷²

The same issue was involved in the reëlection of the Rev. Paul Sperry as President of the Convention, and Mr. Gould as editor of the *Messenger*, who together with Mr. Wunsch are the leaders of the Modernist movement. There was little opposition to Mr. Sperry, his genial personality winning over all opposition, and he was reëlected by an almost unanimous vote. The opposition was concentrated on the other two, Mr. Gould winning by a small majority of twenty-five votes.⁷³ An interesting and significant feature of the elections was an attempt on the part of the young people's League to influence the voting. The League was in session at the same time as the Convention, and deeply interested in the crisis which the Church was facing. They therefore passed the following resolution: "Whereas it is the opinion of those delegates present and voting that Mr. Worcester, Mr. Sperry, Mr. Gould, and Mr. Wunsch are the leaders of the Convention who best express the ideals and aspirations of the young people and are therefore the men to whom the young people look for leadership; and Whereas, the young people are the New Churchmen of the future; and Whereas, they feel confidence in these men and believe they should continue in their present positions, Be it Resolved, that The American New Church League, in Conference assembled, respectfully petitions the General Convention to retain Mr. Sperry as President of the Convention, Mr. Gould as Editor of the *Messenger*, and Mr. Wunsch as Professor of Theology at the Theological School. And be it further Resolved, that a copy of this resolution be placed in the hands of an officer of the General Convention

to be read to the delegates to Convention before the election takes place." This resolution was passed with only two dissenting votes,⁷⁴ showing that the New Churchmen of the future (in the Convention at least) are overwhelmingly Modernist. The resolution was not read to the Convention, however, until *after* the election, but there was little doubt in the minds of the delegates as to the wishes of the young people.

Another question which came up in connection with the 1930 Convention was that of the propriety of "instructed delegates." At the annual meeting of the New York Association in February, a resolution was offered by the Brooklyn Society to the effect that, since there is "a definite effort under way to replace these men with others on the ground that they are not doctrinally sound, we ask the Association to instruct its delegates to the forthcoming Convention to be held in Boston next Spring, to vote as a unit and in a manner so as to retain Messrs. Sperry, Wunsch and Gould in the offices they now hold."⁷⁵ This resolution was passed, in a slightly amended form, after a bitter struggle. Since then there has been a great deal of discussion of instructed delegates. Mr. Robert Alfred Shaw, of the Brooklyn Society, the framer of the measure, said in its defense: "It has been assumed that in some manner this was an infringement upon the freedom of the delegates; that there had been a loss of prestige and of the feeling of responsibility attaching to the office; and some little resentment has been expressed. . . . After all, what object is there in calling together once each year the qualified representatives of every Association? Is it not to obtain an average point of view from the entire church membership? The delegates go to represent, not their individual opinions, nor those of any one faction, but they are to speak for the Association as a whole. This can only be accomplished by a definite decision made by the Association on all important issues by which the delegates must abide."⁷⁶ There is, however, another side to the question. The objection has been made that such a plan leaves the minorities in the various Associations wholly

unrepresented in the Convention. Also it would preclude any possibility of that change and interchange of opinion, that modifying of a preconceived viewpoint in the face of new evidence, and that spirit of generous compromise and mutual give-and-take which one would prefer to see in a church body.

After the Convention of 1930 the controversy was continued, the Conservatives taking the defensive through the medium of the *New Church Visitor*, the official organ of the Illinois Association. In an article entitled "A Call to Arms" the gauntlet is thrown down: "Our organization is in danger of being usurped by intruders who have unceremoniously crept in. They have already gained control of some of our societies, they have tried to gain control of our Theological School, and they have gained control of our important magazines. Those who remain loyal must gather their forces in battle array, choosing leaders of marked ability to defend their church homes from the intruder." To this attack the *Messenger* replied in an editorial, "The Meaning of *Nunc Licet*," setting forth once more the belief that the Liberal point of view is true to the spirit of Swedenborg, and to the best traditions of the New Church. This point of view is defined as "willingness to recognize in any phase of the developing natural and spiritual life of the age we live in, the presence and activity of the Lord Jesus Christ in His Second Coming," and "unwillingness to limit the real and spiritual New Church or Church of the New Jerusalem to the membership of any humanly organized religious body. Such bodies are necessary, and even essential, at once to the Lord and to man, but should be regarded as societies for the promotion of the New Church rather than as the New Church itself."

It was feared that the controversial spirit of the Boston Convention would be repeated at Cincinnati in 1931, and that there might even be danger of a schism. Mr. Freeman, in his "Call to Arms," had said that such diametrically opposed groups could not remain under the same roof in harmony much longer. "Which group is to be forced out of

the General Convention and start a separate organization?" he asks.⁷⁸ In his call to the Convention President Paul Sperry made an appeal to the spirit of charity as the only hope in such a crisis. "All are agreed that charity is the first essential, that without it there is no living Church in us. . . . Let us act in faithful accordance with this conviction, and we may hope that what seems like an hour of temptation in the spiritual life of our Church will become a means of spiritual betterment through which our Lord of Love may give us new privileges in His earthly kingdom."⁷⁹ The Vice-President, Mr. Ezra Hyde Alden, made a similar appeal: "Is it too much to hope that our ministers and delegates may come together in Cincinnati this year in a spirit of real brotherliness? . . . If every one of us, ministers and laymen, would come to our Convention in the spirit of charity, seeking with the Lord's help to understand his brother's point of view rather than to make good his own, however sincere it may be, there would be laid a new foundation of mutual good will upon which we could build our New-Church organization into a stronger and more effective means of spreading abroad the true Christian Religion."⁸⁰

Fortunately for the New Church this pious hope "for the peace of Jerusalem" was in great measure justified, the "sphere" of the Cincinnati Convention being more friendly and conciliatory than was to have been expected. The Middle West being the center of the Conservative school of thought it was inevitable that the contest should be a close one. Mr. Wunsch having been removed last year from his position as Professor of Theology was no longer a bone of contention. Therefore the battle was concentrated around the office of editor of the *Messenger*. The Conservatives put up the Rev. Dirk Diephuis of St. Louis, editor of the *New Church Visitor*, in opposition to Mr. Gould. In a paper read at the public session of the Council of Ministers Mr. Diephuis set forth his conception of what a New Church periodical should be. "Every article, every editorial in it should proclaim the doctrines, . . . a New Church periodical should proclaim the distinctive doctrines of the Church virtually on every

page, . . . and keep away from all attempts, in any form, to dilute these doctrines in order to make them more palatable and more acceptable to a superficial and materialistic world, or from any attempt to make them agree with a Unitarian-minded form of theology, or to interpret them in any 'humanistic' or 'modernistic' fashion." This paper naturally provoked a sharp discussion. Mr. Gould thought that such an attitude of isolation was a denial of the fundamental teachings of the Church.⁸¹ When the vote was taken a few days later Mr. Gould was reelected by a vote of seventy-five to sixty-five. The Liberals are therefore still in the majority, a fact which was corroborated still further by the election of two men of liberal tendencies to fill vacancies in the Board of Managers of the Theological Seminary. The future, however, is always problematical.

CHAPTER XII

THE NEW CHURCH AND THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

The attitude of the New Church toward social reform is especially interesting. In 1794 William Hill had written to Robert Carter: "If the friends at Baltimore knew the distractions into which the New Jerusalem has frequently fallen in England through the agitation of Questions relating to modes of government, both ecclesiastical and civil, I think they would profit from their experience and see it their great privilege in quietness and simplicity to feed upon the heavenly Manna, in the principles of universal love and charity."¹ And, indeed, this has been the point of view of the majority of New Churchmen. In 1855 the *Messenger* states emphatically that reform is not the business of the Church,—its duties are those of internal reformation. "According to the law of discrete degrees, the Church operates legitimately upon the two lower degrees of society, the degrees of civil and social life, not by continuity but by correspondence. . . . By entering the field of social and political reform, the Church would destroy its own influence, and lose sight of its proper work."² There were, however, as we have seen, a few bolder spirits who were not content to "feed upon the heavenly Manna" in serene seclusion, but burned to make the New Jerusalem a reality upon the earth. We have seen their early communistic experiments in connection with the Owenite and Fourier movements. But on the whole the New Church held aloof from projects for social betterment. We have seen this aloofness exemplified in regard to the temperance movement, in which case it was not only the result of indifference, but of active opposition on the part of many.

But the most remarkable instance was that of the slavery question. In spite of all that Swedenborg has to say of the high spiritual capacities of the African race, and of the fact that men of the early New Church like Wadström and Mouravieff found in his teachings the inspiration for their heroic struggles against human bondage, the New Church took no positive stand on the question of abolition. In fact many members of the Church in the North were not abolitionists. It is recorded that Emerson was deeply disappointed in his friend, Sampson Reed, for not being opposed to slavery.³ The Rev. Chauncey Giles also was not an abolitionist, and thought the South should be allowed to secede. He did not vote for Lincoln, and kept up friendly relations with his New Orleans New Church friends throughout the War.⁴ The following justification of slavery appears in a pamphlet by a New Church man: "By African slavery the sensual-corporeal principle of the African is brought into obedience and subjection to the natural or scientific plane of the white man's life. The white man wills and thinks for him, determines his outgoings and incomings, his food, clothing, sleep, work, etc. What is the result? His sensual-corporeal is adjusted as a servant to the regenerate natural of the white man and receives influx through it. His hereditary is dissipated; the sphere of order, justice, and active use into which he is inserted is repugnant to his attendant evil spirits and they measurably leave him. He is passing through the process which Almighty God has provided and which will eventuate in his true liberty."⁵ He criticizes the abolitionists sharply: "The Abolition spirit is the subtlest demonism of the age. It is attempting to thwart the plans of Providence. . . . The Negro is a child,—organically and spiritually a child. He is not to be made a man of our sort by any amount of political or scientific culture."⁶

But there were also active abolitionists in the Church, among whom were Thomas Worcester and Richard De-Charms. The Chicago Society had among its members several active workers in the "underground railway,"—Dr. Charles Volney Dyer, Dr. Alvan Small, and Dr. George F.

Root, author of the words of *The Battle Cry of Freedom, Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, and Just Before the Battle, Mother*, popular Civil War ballads."

The first periodical to broach the question was Professor Bush's *New Church Repository*, which in 1852 began a series of *Aphorisms on Abolition and Slavery*. It was done with no intention of hurting the Southern brethren, but merely with a desire to discuss reasonably an evil of so great a magnitude. There was an immediate protest from the Southern brethren, to the effect that, since Swedenborg had said nothing against the institution of slavery he had no right to call his statements "Aphorisms." Bush replied that it is the duty of the Church to fight evils wherever it finds them, but that the solution was not immediate emancipation, but a change of heart on the part of the slaveowners, and a gradual training of the slaves for freedom.⁸ The first mention of the subject in the *Messenger* was in 1858 in a reply to a letter which had appeared in the *New York Tribune* criticizing Mr. Giles for not mentioning slavery in a sermon "in which occur many fine practical suggestions in relation to the present pecuniary crisis, and just and true principles of conduct are laid down, and the duty of men in relation to existing evils pointed out,—except,—ah, yes, *except Slavery!* the reader would infer either that slavery did not exist in this country, or that Mr. Giles must be very oblivious in the matter, or, what we fear, he *did not care to say anything about it.* We want the ministers and periodicals of the New Church to speak a certain sound. 'If the Lord be God, serve Him, but if Baal, then serve him.' " To this the *Messenger* replied that "not only is it the mission of the New Church to teach spiritual truths, but to teach and to practice spiritual freedom,—freedom not only in spiritual, but in social, moral, and political matters.... The *Messenger* has abstained from discussing the question of Slavery, because, being a political question, it has been aware that no such discussion could be carried on in its columns, without infringing the freedom, both political and moral, of many upright and sincere minds. . . . There are certain plain violations of

the Divine commandments which are so destructive to a spiritual life as to destroy the conscience of him who is willing to connive at or to justify them. But no rational man, who is not governed by his passions, needs to be told that the abstract question of American slavery is not one of these.”⁹

In 1865 the *Messenger* finally gave an official answer to the so often asked question: “What are the teachings of the New Church with regard to slavery?” “It is not for us, as members of the New Church, to say what shall be done in relation to it. . . . These things belong rather to the civil government to decide. . . . Let us also set aside for the time the abuses connected with slavery, of which we have heard so much, for there is nothing that is not liable to abuse, and let us address ourselves solely to the inquiry whether *involuntary servitude* is according to Divine Order; whether it is of Providence or of Permission. . . . Swedenborg says that freedom is essential to the appropriation of any spiritual good to man. . . . Slavery was permitted, even commanded to the Jews by the Lord. But under the Christian dispensation service must be from love, for the Son of Man came to minister.”¹⁰ With this somewhat mild condemnation the subject of slavery was closed.

The next important social issue to claim the attention of New Churchmen was the Woman’s Rights Movement, the first serious discussion of which appears in the *New Church Repository* of 1853. This periodical, edited by the liberal-minded Mr. Barrett, was on the whole sympathetic to the movement, but presented both sides with admirable impartiality.¹¹ The *New Jerusalem Magazine*, on the other hand, as usual represented the conservative point of view, as may be seen from the following lines from a poem entitled “Woman’s Rights.”

“Hers to make home a shadowing forth of heaven;
To sit, home’s angel, in the hearth flame’s glow;
To make man better by her loving presence,
And faith’s calm beauties in her own life show.”¹²

By the sixties the question of woman's rights had become an intensely practical one centering around her place in the affairs and the government of the Church. The *New Jerusalem Magazine* attempted to crush the serpent in its infancy. "In order that those who are interested in the Heavenly Doctrine of the New Jerusalem may not be led astray by one of those active falsities with which public opinion of the present day is threatened, it seems well to make known the following minute, or record, made in Swedenborg's *Spiritual Diary* [no. 5936]—'Women who think like men concerning religious things, and speak much concerning them, and still more if they preach in assemblies,—destroy the womanly nature, which is of affection, from which they should be with husbands, and become material, so that affection perishes and the interiors are closed. They begin even to be delirious as to their thought. . . . In a word they become sensual to the last degree.'"¹³ Faced with such a dire fate it is remarkable that any New Church woman should have dared to lift her voice "concerning religious things,"—and in fact very few did. But in 1869 the Maine and New Hampshire Association listened to a report on "Woman's Work in the Church," and the same year an article in the *Messenger* sounded a prophetic note. "The time may possibly come, somewhere in the future, when our delegations to Associations and Conventions will be partly filled by women, they being present in our deliberative bodies to feel, will, and suggest, while acting perhaps in some cases as secretaries, and receiving appointments on appropriate committees, without engaging in public speaking or taking a prominent part in intellectual debate." This advanced gentleman goes on to state that women are better suited to executive work than men, and that the church needs them.¹⁴

A few years later Harriet Clisby, M.D., of Boston, addressed the following epistle to the Convention: "The *Arcana Coelestia*, or the Secrets of Heaven, teem with an effulgent glory borrowed from no diamond literature decanted of earth. . . . A woman seeing this, beholding the glories of this sacred descent, and *feeling* it within her soul, is she not

God-ordained, and called to be as much a minister and disseminator of this new gospel as any man? . . . So far the habits of women have been fashioned by the interests of others: those others—men. They, as a body, have never thought for themselves; and just as long as men place them in this position, just so long shall we have our thinking done by men, and the system be incomplete thereby. . . . The world needs women, their thought, their ministry, their active co-operation in the performance of uses.”¹⁵ This is the first appearance of militant feminism in the ranks of the New Church. In 1874 the New York Association admitted two women delegates from the Orange Society to their annual meeting.¹⁶ Women were slowly winning their way into the councils of the Church in spite even of Swedenborg!

The first attempt to get a woman delegate into the Convention was made in 1887, when the Society of Topeka, Kansas, presented the name of Mrs. F. L. Higgins to the Committee on Credentials. The Committee quietly omitted her name from their list of accredited delegates, the Topeka delegation inquired the reason, and the fight was on. It was asked why, if the women of Kansas voted in the affairs of the state, should they not vote in the affairs of the Church also, and how could a society composed entirely of women, if such should ever be, be represented in Convention. Mr. Mann said that since there was nothing in the constitution against women delegates, there was no alternative but to receive her. Mr. Benade said that according to Swedenborg men are forensic and women domestic, and therefore the whole question was disorderly. A vote was taken,—thirty-seven to twenty-nine in favor of the lady.¹⁷ Apparently the ordeal had been too painful, for no woman delegate appeared the following year, and in 1889 it was proposed to amend the constitution by putting the word “male” in front of the word “delegate” wherever it occurs. This was not passed however. A lady was allowed the floor, and said: “The New Church on earth, if it means anything at all on earth, means freedom and equality among men and women.” In reply a gentleman said that it would never do to have

women delegates, because the brethren would be overwhelmed by the eloquence of their sisters,—the profound reverence of men for women would upset men's freedom when engaged in counsel with them,—and her affectional sphere would influence him more than the strength of her position.¹⁸ But in spite of all this gallantry no more women delegates ventured to appear until 1893.

The first strong impetus was given to the woman movement in the New Church by the World Congresses held in connection with the Chicago Exposition in 1893. The previous year a circular letter had been sent out appealing to all the women of the Church to attend the Congresses. "The Woman Question will be under practical as well as theoretical demonstration. By every means in their power women will be pleading their right to be heard, seen, and felt in the world. They will be taking part in all things, presenting the great problem of the age for solution. . . . We, as New Church women, have the definite duty to perform of giving by precept and example the answer of the New Church to this great question, its clear and unhesitating message upon the subject, its moderating and guiding influence in all the powerful movements of the day, especially the Woman Movement."¹⁹ This letter created a great stir in the Church and started discussion of the question in many societies.

At the World's Congress of Religion some of the most interesting papers read at the New Church session were by women. Lydia Fuller Dickinson expresses her idea of the matter thus: "This, as I see it, is the inmost secret of the Woman Movement, a movement that includes both men and women, as partakers alike of the woman principle. We are indeed all feminine to the divine, all receptive to the new impulse toward, the new belief in, the brotherhood of man. And this is why I welcome the struggle for personal freedom on the part of women, including her right to citizenship."²⁰ In an article in the *Messenger* she developed this Swedenborgian conception of feminism still further: "The woman movement is the Church movement. It is the descent of the holy city. It is 'the wife making herself ready.'

It is therefore in no sense a movement of women apart from men, but is, on the contrary, a movement of the woman in both men and women. Both are equally feminine to the Divine because, whether considered in their individual or their united relation to the Lord, they are equally the Church of which the Lord alone is husband or Head. Says Swedenborg, 'The Church from the Lord is formed in the husband, and through the husband in the wife, and when it is formed in each it is a full Church.' God is the only Man, the only source of life. We are men,—male and female forms receptive of Divine life,—receptacles of truth as masculine and of love as feminine. . . . What then, shall we say to our question? I answer most emphatically: the New Church woman should lead the movement, or rather, New Church man and woman should lead it, because no one else knows the truth that has originated the movement and to which the movement will lead."²¹

In the New York Association in 1893 the question of woman's position in the Church became the main topic for discussion, and resulted in the passing of resolutions authorizing the Board of Directors to employ as missionaries, teachers, visitors, etc., "such persons as can best accomplish the work, whether they be men or women," and to appoint women delegates to Convention whenever they are nominated by the societies composing the Association. This victory was won in a meeting consisting of sixteen women and seventy men, which shows the progressive spirit of the men of the New York Association.²² But as a matter of fact no women delegates were nominated for another three years. The Orange Society, under the leadership of Mr. Mann, were the prime movers in the cause, having in its membership several very strong-minded women. As early as 1877 they had sent a delegation of *five* women and *two* men to the Association meeting.²³

The report of the Committee on this question of woman's place in the church is an interesting treatment of the subject from the doctrinal point of view. There was undoubtedly much in Swedenborg's sayings about women which required

a reinterpretation before their greater freedom could be justified. The report states: “ ‘There are duties proper to the husband, and others proper to the wife, and the wife cannot enter into the duties proper to the husband, nor the husband into the duties proper to the wife, so as to perform them aright, . . . because they differ like wisdom and the love thereof. . . . Many believe that women can perform the duties of men if they are initiated therein at an early age as boys are. They may indeed be initiated into the practice of such duties, but not into the judgment on which the propriety of duties interiorly depends.’ (*Conjugial Love*, 174-5.) But this refers especially to the relation of the sexes in marriage, and does not cover the whole of life. ‘The inmost of the masculine is love, and its covering is wisdom; or what is the same, the masculine principle is love covered (or veiled) by wisdom; but the inmost of the feminine is wisdom . . . and its covering is love.’ (*Conjugial Love*, 32.) Thus men and women are the reverse of each other,—and complementary. Swedenborg described the state of things in his own day, and did not prophesy for the future, nor lay down laws. ‘The knowledge of things to come belongs to the Lord alone,—the angels do not know of the state of the future church.’ (*Last Judgment*, 74.) ²⁴

“Women must be allowed the chance for regeneration which lies in a life of charity to the neighbor in the broadest sense, and use in the broadest sense. . . . As the Church progresses in regeneration the sexes develop their interior principles (not their exterior),—woman wisdom, and man affection. A sign of the new age is woman’s changing functions. . . . The doctrines must not be made an obstacle to progress. Swedenborg insisted on ‘freedom according to reason.’ He certainly cannot be interpreted contrary to the logic of events,—woman *is* in the life of the world, rapidly entering new fields, and becoming a new creature. She can never be unsexed because sex is too intrinsic. More marriages are not the solution, for Swedenborg says the conjugial is not in natural marriage; quality, not quantity of marriage is the aim, and the ideal can best be preserved by

some not marrying. . . . We must give woman freedom as a simple act of justice, and trust her to find the right use for her abilities.” A minority report, presented by the “die-hards,” insisted that marriage is the only proper relation of the sexes, . . . that woman cannot do man’s work without danger to her womanly nature, . . . and that her entrance into the economic world is a disorder resulting from the general vastation, and not a sign of the new age.²⁵

The Massachusetts women were not so fortunate as their New York and Western sisters, to whom a voice in the Church had come as a matter of course along with the suffrage. In 1875 a committee reported as follows: “Women are members, and have a right to any appointment, but are not suitable for all, such as delegates, etc. They ought to vote in meetings of societies on matters concerning all, such as the choice of a minister. But they should not act as representatives for others, for that requires *wisdom*.²⁶ And it was not until 1906 that the Massachusetts Association sent women delegates to Convention.²⁷ But they too felt the new urge for activity and self-expression, and in 1894 the women of the Boston Society began a series of discussions on such matters as “The spiritual life as expressed in Dress, Food, Hospitality, etc.” They decided that clothing should allow room for proper breathing, as breath has a very high spiritual significance according to the Writings,²⁸ but it is not recorded how many were brave enough to flout fashion and discard the wasp-waist for the sake of Swedenborg.

In 1893 the first woman delegate appeared in the Convention since the Topeka lady had braved the masculine protest in 1887. This was Mrs. Ione A. Sawyer of the Connecticut Association,²⁹ who was followed the next year by Mrs. C. G. R. Vinal of Middletown.³⁰ In 1895 Washington, D. C., and Louisville, Ky., sent a woman each. Notice was given of a proposed amendment to the constitution to put a stop to this “disorder,”³¹ but it was never passed. In 1897 there were five women present. A resolution that only male delegates be recognized was laid on the table,—and the battle was won.³² From that time the number of women

delegates has steadily increased, until in 1914 there were actually forty-three women and only thirty-one men lay delegates.³³ But it was not until 1921 that they began to be elected to the various Boards and Standing Committees which really control the affairs of the Church. That year one woman was elected to the Board of Publication, one to the Board of Missions, two to the Board of Managers of the Theological School, and two to the General Council.³⁴ But even yet the New Church is very far from any danger of "petticoat rule."

With the passage of the national Suffrage Amendment in 1917 the "woman question" was closed, the *New Church Review* giving the parting thrust: "Shall the New Church regard the victory so hardly won as one of the steps of progress resulting from the Second Coming of the Lord, or as a part of the unrest and great upheaval of disorders of the Last Judgment occasioned by it? The friends of the cause within the Church take the former view, while some take the latter. Perhaps the truth lies, as is so often the case, in the golden mean. . . . This will be the test of this victory of woman suffrage: Will it contribute to the success of marriage? Will it make women better wives and mothers in time and in eternity? Will it help men to be better husbands now and forever? Husbands and wives are certainly equals in marriage, and in all things of life, but they are not alike in their functions of mind and body. . . . If this new kind of 'equal rights' of woman develops her unlikeness to man, and perfects it by making her more and more unlike him, more and more a woman, we shall know that it is, indeed, a victory for womanhood."³⁵

The sex questions, marriage, divorce, and birth control, have been of great interest to the followers of Swedenborg, who himself braved the prudery of his day by handling these difficult matters "with gloves off." The problem of sex education was faced fairly and squarely by the New Church before most churches had dreamed of removing the Victorian *tabu* from the dangerous subject. Almost half a cen-

tury ago the Rev. Charles H. Mann plead for co-education as essential to a right relation between the sexes. "Young people should see each other in their working costumes, and associate in the ordinary departments of their life's efforts and culture," and not meet merely at parties, "dressed-up" and artificially stimulated and excited.⁸⁶ He also treated the matter of sex very frankly in a little book called: *What God hath cleansed, of The Sexual Organs, Their Order and Quality in the Body; and their Spiritual Significance*, in which he concludes "both from the ground of their nature, their quality, and their order in the body, and also from the ground of their spiritual correspondence in the organization of the heavens, that the sexual organs are the highest, the purest, and the most holy of all the external parts of the body. While the abuse of what is highest is most degrading and leads to the deepest hell, its right use leads to a correspondingly higher heaven."⁸⁷

The New Church felt that in the teachings of Swedenborg regarding sex they had a real contribution to make to the world, and a Sex Education League was founded in 1909 for the purpose of disseminating these teachings. When the publicity attendant upon the Kramph Will Case made it necessary for the Church to state its belief in unalloyed monogamy clearly before the world, such a statement was prepared by the Council of Ministers, and given to the press.⁸⁸ The following year, 1912, a petition was presented at the Convention signed by about two hundred members requesting Convention to publish an authorized abridged edition of *Conjugial Love*. This suggestion to expurgate the "Heavenly Doctrine" met with a great deal of opposition.⁸⁹ The Committee to which the matter was referred reported its unwillingness to comply with the request, because "it ignores the hand of Providence in giving the book to the world in its present form, and would do no good anyway, but would merely call attention to the deleted passages."⁹⁰ However a compilation of Swedenborg's teaching regarding marriage has been made to meet the requirements of an "expurgated edition."⁹¹ Commenting on this collection of excerpts from

the Writings, Wainwright Evans, co-author with Judge Ben Lindsey of *The Companionate Marriage*, says: "It is an astonishing book; the more astonishing when one considers how long ago it was written,—how long, that is, before modern science was to come along and vouch for the fundamental validity of Swedenborg's notion of human nature. . . . There is hardly a thing in the philosophical and psychological aspects of this book with which modern thought could fail to agree. It out-Freuds Freud in the thoroughness and scientific detachment with which it probes into the subjective life of man; and it approaches the problems of human conduct, particularly sex conduct, with a mingling of practical common sense and real religion which should put to shame those of our professional theologians who mistake their own gross superstitions for mysticism, and have succeeded in creating a mountain of human misery in consequence. . . . Swedenborg makes a plea for tolerance and forbearance in marriage which for 'broadmindedness' will stand comparison with the opinions of any of the radical social thinkers of our day."⁴¹

But however "broadminded" Swedenborg may have been, his followers have been extremely conservative in their ideas concerning marriage. A series of sermons by the Rev. Mr. Mann in 1881 expresses the typical viewpoint. "The first misapprehension concerning the nature of marriage is evinced by the nearly universal idea that personal happiness is the supreme end for which this relation should be entered into. . . . The present personal comfort and happiness of those that enter into it are among the least of its purposes." And he speaks further on of the selfishness of so many "happy" marriages. "No devotion between married partners, however faithful, is a true devotion which cultivates in each other an inconsiderateness for the world in general."⁴² The Rev. E. J. E. Schreck, in a series of articles in the Young People's department of the *Messenger* takes a purely Pauline view of woman's position in the marriage relationship. "'To the man shall be thine obedience, and he shall rule over thee.' This was reaffirmed in the early Christian Church.

The head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man. ‘Wives, submit yourselves unto your husbands, as unto the Lord!’”⁴³ Naturally this sort of thing would not appeal to twentieth century young people, even in the New Church, and Mr. Schreck received a sharp rejoinder from a feminine young person: “Was Mr. Schreck’s pen dipped in the ink used in the middle ages when he wrote those statements concerning woman’s relation to man? In the past history of the race, the half-truth that woman was made for man was all that was comprehended. In these latter days when ‘all things are becoming new,’ the other half of the truth shines out, namely, that man was made also for woman.”⁴⁴ The question of marriage within the New Church was discussed at length in the Young People’s department of the *Messenger* in 1901 and 1902. “Within what limits, if any, should New Church young people cultivate intimate friendships and marry outside the Church?”⁴⁵ was the question asked. The replies were mainly of a liberal nature. “The New Church Ecclesiasticism is not the New Church; in the old-church ecclesiasticism there may at heart be the faith of the New Church. It may happen, and I cannot doubt has often happened, that a New Churchman marrying one not of the nominal New Church has found one who could be and has been united with him in true faith.”⁴⁶ This “attack on New Church marriage” was severely criticized by the Academy who made it compulsory.⁴⁷

Because of the exceedingly high ideal of marriage found in the Writings, the New Church has in general regarded it as practically indissoluble, admitting nothing but adultery as a ground for divorce. Swedenborg’s own humane teaching regarding separation was hardly countenanced by the purists among his followers. In an article on *Divorce from the Celestial Standpoint* Dr. W. H. Holcombe writes: “Our personal feelings and interests, which all arise from the *proprium*, have nothing to do either before or after marriage with the sanctity and perpetuity of its external forms which God has established as the orderly organic basis for the perpetuation of the race, the preservation of society, and the

regeneration of the individual. . . . The position of the unhappy wife simply opens a field, or presents opportunities, for her higher spiritual development. Under such conditions she is placed, within the protective influence of God's external law, in a position to combat and conquer the deepest hells. During this terrible ordeal of self-sacrifice and martyrdom, she not only develops the celestial life in herself, but renders the salvation of the recreant husband more and more probable and possible, and stands as a mighty barrier against the influx of the adulterous hells into general society." This is heroic teaching, worthy of a Papal encyclical! The *Messenger* comments on it approvingly: "We believe these to be the true New Church principles, and hence can only desire that they may obtain a strong position in the laws of our civil organization."⁴⁸ But a distinctly more modern attitude was taken by others. Jane Dearborn Mills in her book on *Marriage* claims that "spiritual adultery is the union of two mismated persons, and should be ground for divorce,"⁴⁹ and many believed that though divorce is undoubtedly an evil, yet it is permitted by Providence until man becomes more regenerate, and should be countenanced by the New Church.⁵⁰

The question of birth control came up as early as 1894 in an article on *The Malthusian Theory from the New Church Viewpoint*, in which the author, H. C. Ager, claims that "the great function of marriage is to propagate goods and truths. Is it desirable to propagate the human race to the point of poverty? Men should have children for use, and not carry it beyond usefulness." This provoked a heated attack on the grounds that "limiting children for fear of poverty is a disbelief in the Lord." The controversy became so heated that the editor felt obliged to put an end to it, on the ground that it was displeasing to many of the readers.⁵¹ The radical sex theories of the present day are regarded with remarkable tolerance by some as part of the process of regeneration of the race. "Men like Bertrand Russell come along teaching our young people that an occasional extra-marital sex episode is quite harmless; in fact it is to be expected and condoned.

Another of his like teaches that monogamy is ‘suffocating to man’s erotic life,’ etc. . . . Can Noah’s dove find dry ground in such a flood of immoral teaching? Is there any room for the Holy Spirit in the hearts of the followers of such a philosophy? Yes, it is possible that all this is the work of the Holy Spirit. Swedenborg tells us of laws of ‘permission.’ He does not mean that the laws of Providence are condoning such thoughts and acts as we have been describing but it tolerates them for this reason: All the rottenness that is in the human heart must come out into the open before it can be eradicated. And the Holy Spirit is busily, unceasingly operating to bring this hidden evil out into clear daylight so that it may be seen in all its ugliness. . . . People are beginning to govern themselves by their immediate desires rather than by traditions or old conventions. Men and women are beginning to be bound by self-compulsion rather than by external restraint.—On the whole we can see that this new freedom must lead to a higher type of humanity.”⁵²

The entire question of the relation of the Church to social and economic problems began to be greatly discussed in the nineties. A severe criticism of its traditional attitude of aloofness from crucial issues appeared in the *Messenger* in 1894. “It would hardly be possible for the doctrinal teachings of any Church to give more encouragement to progress than those of the New Church. For example, they tell us that we go on progressing to all eternity. Nevertheless, the effect of the doctrines on individuals, and even on the external Church as a body, may be, and it is to be feared sometimes is, to retard progress. For instance, while the New Church undoubtedly contributed its full quota of early abolitionists, it is certainly true that a very large proportion of its members were rather favorable to slavery even down to the time of the War. . . . There are two reasons for this,—we are brought up to think the Church settles all problems, and there is no need to think,—also we care little for what outsiders say or think. Progress takes place by gradual change of mass opinion and knowledge, and the New Church

tends to cut off its members from this progressive influence. . . . Arguments of twenty years ago are frequently heard in New Church discussion.”⁵⁸

The theories of Henry George presented themselves in a favorable light to many members of the New Church. In 1889 a New Churchmen’s Single Tax League was established in Brooklyn, with the following statement of principles: “Whereas a number of the receivers of the doctrines of the New Church believe that the principles underlying the system of political economy set forth in the writings of Henry George, are in harmony with the spirit of the new age, that their presentation at the present time is one of the effects of the descent of the truths of the new dispensation, and that an intelligent understanding of their intrinsic justice and equity and the consequent embodiment of them in the civil code of the nation is the only effective remedy for much of the injustice and many of the gross evils that afflict society, etc. . . . As a distinct use and function of this organization, we purpose to address ourselves especially to receivers of the truths of the New Church, endeavoring to show them the relations which must exist between the standards of natural justice and morality, and the spiritual truths of the Church in any age or community.”⁵⁴ The new League undertook the publication of a magazine, *The New Earth*, edited by Mr. John Filmer.⁵⁵ Henry George himself was acquainted with many New Church people, and his son became a Swedenborgian, though not a member of the Church. George was impressed with the fact that more of his followers in proportion belonged to the New Church than to any other sect. They said it was because they found in his teaching a sound economic basis for Swedenborg’s *Maximus Homo*, the greater social Man.⁵⁶ Besides the Brooklyn group there were enthusiastic Single Taxers in the Orange Society also,⁵⁷ and the leading exponent of the Single Tax, after Henry George, Louis F. Post, editor of the *Public*, and Assistant Secretary of Labor under President Wilson, was a member of the New Church.⁵⁸ Among the New Churchmen of the Middle West there was a good deal of interest in the Single

Tax, and Vachel Lindsay, who was intimate with the Swedenborgians of Springfield, Ill., in his youth, writes, "These two men [Henry George and Swedenborg] seem to go together in the minds of many more Americans than our great universities realize. They furnish more austerity, fire, vision, and relentless life-time resolution to those who would make over our cities, than the heathen have ever dreamed. Thousands of folks of our purest, most valuable, oldest stock, go to the Swedenborgian church on Sunday and work steadily and silently for the Single Tax all the week."⁵⁹

Socialism too has its active advocates in the New Church, the doctrines of which, according to some, "are supremely socialistic. Heaven is revealed in them as one vast commune, to whose wealth each contributes of his labor, and from whose resources each is supplied according to his needs. . . . Under these circumstances the socialistic movements of the present day can but command the intense interest, and when embodied in wisely conceived propositions, the co-operation of the modern New Churchman."⁶⁰ In the nineties the labor problem began to appear in the periodicals of the Church. In 1894 a series of articles on "The Lesson of the Strikes," in the *Messenger* show a deep humanitarian interest in the cause of the worker. "When a man turns out his faithful horse that has served him and made money for him, to starve to death, because he can make no more money for him, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals takes him severely in hand. But these are not horses. They are only starving men and women and children. They are no concern to him, though they have made his millions."⁶¹ A series of lectures on this subject delivered by the Rev. Chauncey Giles in Philadelphia attracted large audiences. Swedenborg's doctrine of use was applied to industrial problems thus: "The essence of Swedenborg's Doctrine of Use is that a man realizes the central purpose of good human life by the faithful performance of the duties of his office, profession, calling, or occupation. According to this doctrine every one ought to have some useful employment, ought to do some kind of work which benefits the community and

which is his chosen way of doing good to others. . . . Under the existing conditions of social and industrial organization, the principle of use must be applied collectively as well as individually, and often it must be applied collectively before it is possible to apply it individually. Under these conditions, the principle of use requires that the whole body of profit sharers, or employers on the one hand, and the whole body of wage earners, or the employed, on the other, should each put use, the service of the public, in the first place, and regard the profits and the wages as the means whereby both parties can combine in the one purpose of serving the public.”⁶²

As the socialistic propaganda became more intense the conservative element became alarmed, and the *New Church Review* in 1907 makes the following complaint: “A strong and increasing pressure is brought to bear upon the periodicals of the Church to lend themselves to the cause of socialism. The reason is that quite a number of our ministers and laymen have become socialists. It will be remembered that the Church passed through a similar experience a number of years ago, when a New Churchmen’s Single Tax League was organized and a periodical published, because the Church as a whole declined to commit itself and its periodicals to that movement for political reform. There is no objection to a New Churchman’s espousal of any reform cause that appeals to him, social, industrial, or political; indeed it is an indication that he is putting his religion into practice as a citizen by seeking his country’s welfare; but when he begins to feel that some of his brethren are not as good New Churchmen as he because they do not think as he does about this particular theory of social progress; or when he begins to condemn the Church organization as a whole because it does not work for the cause he has adopted, and give its endorsement to it, he needs to study afresh the nature and functions of the Church and of the State. When a Church assumes the functions of the State and begins to endorse and advocate, sanction, and authorize, this or that political or industrial, or social measure or reform, it is time for every

patriot to take alarm, and array himself against that particular form of Church organization as a menace to his civil liberty. Too many hard-fought battles have already been required to throw off just such encroachment of ecclesiasticism. . . . From this point of view, doubtless, the Cambridge Society, at its last annual meeting, expressed grave apprehensions of the harm that may come from what has been called the Swedenborg Number of the *Christian Socialist*, a periodical published in Chicago. This number was devoted to showing that the Writings of Swedenborg, and other New Church sources, teach socialism, so-called; and the implication therefore is, that the Church of the New Jerusalem is, or consistently should be, politically socialistic. If the *Christian Socialist* had gotten out its Swedenborg Number independently, there would be less occasion perhaps to take notice of it, but it was composed chiefly of contributions from New Church ministers and laymen, with mention of their official positions in the Church. This gave the appearance of social sanction from the Church itself.”⁶³ The authors of the articles referred to were Alfred J. Johnson of London, the Rev. A. B. Francisco, pastor of the Humboldt Park Church in Chicago, the Rev. Arthur Mercer, pastor of the Brooklyn Society, the Rev. Herbert C. Small, pastor of the Indianapolis Society, and the Rev. Hiram Vrooman, of the Society in Providence, R. I.⁶⁴

The plea for a Social Gospel in the New Church was being made more and more frequently. The poet Edwin Markham in an address in Boston said: “If Swedenborg had never expressed another idea than his immortal saying, ‘All religion has relation to life, and the life of religion is to do good,’ he would have given the world enough to inspire a hundred seers. I never speak his name without emotion. He lifted me out of a quagmire of theology. He lifted me up to see the stars.”⁶⁵ And Helen Keller, a devout Swedenborgian, in an address on “A Vision of Service” at the 1928 Convention at which she was the guest of honor, asked the following disturbing questions: “Is the New Church really any different from the Old?” It takes no stand on social

matters, war, capitalism, etc. "What is the cause of this ever increasing darkness in the tabernacles of God? Why is humanity losing its faith in the liveableness of Christianity? While seeking the answer to these questions I opened Swedenborg's *True Christian Religion*, and there I found the answer: 'Where there is no good of life, there is no longer a church.' Where people cease to apply their beliefs to practical living there is no faith. Is not that what has happened to the Christian Church? . . . My friends, we have wandered very far from the teachings of our Lord. We have lost our way in the maze of an evil system which makes a lie of Christianity."⁶⁶

The issue has reappeared with the present economic crisis. An editorial in the *Messenger*, called "The New Church Tradition" says: "Every one seems agreed that the Church cannot properly, or even safely, ignore such a crisis in the common life as the present economic situation. To take such an attitude would be substantially to divorce religion from life altogether, and that certainly no New Churchman could consider. When, however, we come to the question of what the Church actually ought to do in a crisis such as that through which we are now passing, one finds a considerable variation of opinion. For example in last week's and this week's issues of the *Messenger*, four quite different viewpoints are expressed or implied. . . . First, that the Church's function is simply to set forth as clearly as possible . . . the spiritual principles and laws which underlie the situation. Second, that the Church should perhaps give its official backing to such projects as seem to be soundest, and most surely in line with its spiritual purpose. Third, that the Church should recognize the existence of the evil institutions of its time, and encourage its children to examine them in the light of their faith and judge them accordingly. Fourth, that all our economic ills are due to the institution of private property; that this is clearly contrary to the teaching of Christianity and the New Church; and that only selfishness and cowardice have kept the Church from recognizing that fact, and that we should avert inevitable revolution

by starting a movement for Christian communism. . . . There is much to be said for and against each of these positions, though it is the first which beyond all doubt embodies the tradition of the organized New Church. Students of our history have remarked on the curious detachment which the Church has shown regarding movements for social reform, and have drawn unflattering conclusions. That detachment can, however, be defended as the outgrowth of an honest effort to keep personal opinion distinct from revealed truth.”⁶⁷

With the decline of exclusiveness came a new interest in social service work, both within the Church, and in coöperation with outside agencies. In 1913 a Social Service Commission was appointed by the Convention to correlate these activities. Among them were the settlement houses in New York City and Lynn, Mass., Institutional Sunday Schools in Virginia, and other ventures.⁶⁸ In its report in 1920 the Commission asks: “Has the Church of the New Jerusalem any vital interest in Social Service?”, and in reply quotes several New Church writers. “Swedenborg was a practical legislator,” says one, “all the time, and his energetic efforts to benefit his countrymen by better laws may put to shame the attitude of some who honor him as a theologian.” Also: “The larger, social Christianity is right; it is the great interest of the hour; it is the hope for the future peace and progress of the world; but the larger Christianity must have strength and substance from the personal units of Christians of which it is composed.”⁶⁹ The 1929 report shows a greatly increased activity in this direction. One of the pioneers was the late Rev. Adolph Roeder, who during his pastorate in Vineland, N. J., from 1880 to 1895 played an active part in the life of the community. Later, in his Orange, N. J., pastorate, he had organized the “Civics Movement,” the influence of which had spread throughout the whole state resulting in improved conditions in many state institutions. An even earlier pioneer was the Rev. Charles H. Mann, Mr. Roeder’s predecessor in the Orange Society, who left his impress on the educational institutions

in that region. After his move to Elkhart, Ind., he became the center for the study of sociological, political, and economic questions in the light of New Church teaching. New Church Forums have been organized in Vineland, N. J., Akron, Ohio, Lancaster, Pa., Baltimore, Brooklyn, and other places.⁷⁰

The most interesting recent development is the work of a Committee on the Cause of the Mentally Sick appointed in 1928 with the Rev. Louis G. Hoeck as chairman. The work of this committee is the establishing of contacts with state institutions for the insane, and attempting to ameliorate the condition of the inmates. The first work was done by Mr. and Mrs. Hoeck in Ohio. Mr. Hoeck's pamphlet, *A Neglected People*, was sent to the entire Convention membership in the hope of stimulating other societies to take up this much-needed work. A number of New Church people, becoming interested in work with the insane, have taken up occupational therapy as a profession. The report says: "New Church people should make the most efficient workers in this field because of their knowledge of the soul as *the man* regardless of how the body behaves, therefore bringing to their work a balance of intelligent sympathy which in itself is a vital contribution to the healing process."⁷¹ The New Church feels that in the philosophy and psychology of Swedenborg there are principles particularly applicable to the treatment of mental disorders. As early as 1857 Dr. Garth Wilkinson made an interesting observation that the phenomena of Spiritualism, then so much in vogue, automatic writing and drawing in particular, might be of use in the treatment of the insane. "Let involuntary drawing be introduced then as a normal employment into asylums, and let the class of patients upon whom the Spirit-cure is to be tried be those who are only functionally deranged, and especially those who are suffering from disappointed affections, and in general mental and affectional causes. . . . Let each drawing be kept, dated and numbered, as marking a progress of state.—Writing, composition, especially poetry, will flow by the same involuntary gift. . . . By this means the inward

experiences and trouble of the whole of the patient will be brought to the surface. . . . By the most ordinary law of transference the internal malady will be drained away, and the whole mind will stream outward instead of brooding inwards. The phrase has often been used, Spirit-Drawing; and it will be said, How call you it Spirit-Drawing when it is only imagination? I call it Spirit, because *that* is drawn through man's hands and poured through his mind which is not consciously in him before. . . . If you choose to say it is your own spirit I have no objections; but can only aver that it is a new and unused faculty or power of faculty. And so, without fixing whose Spirit it is, I call it Spirit.”⁷² This remarkable foreshadowing of the psychoanalytic theory and method shows what might have been the result if more New Churchmen had concentrated on science instead of theology.

This interest in the “cause of the mentally sick” has finally resulted in a campaign to raise the necessary funds for a New Church Psychiatric Institute, where the mentally sick can be treated at a moderate cost, and receive the benefits of religious ministrations according to New Church theory. The opinion of four eminent New York psychiatrists have been secured as to the feasibility of such a project, and plans are under way.⁷³

The attitude of the New Church in regard to war forms an interesting study along the lines of the Social Gospel. The first official mention of war as an evil appears in an address from the Western to the General Convention at the time of the War with Mexico. “We cannot close this communication, dear brethren, without expressing our deep sorrow that our beloved country should think herself obliged to vindicate her rights by a resort to arms. Let us hope that heavenly laws will soon so far prevail, as to make such kinds of resort unnecessary to secure the progress of right.”⁷⁴ This attitude of detachment from the immediate issues appears even in the hectic days of 1860. An article, entitled “Thoughts on Present Day Discontents,” states that the causes of the trouble are spiritual, and are to be found in North and South alike,—“In the meantime how earnestly should

we cherish in our hearts that spirit of patriotism, that love for the Union which alone can reunite us! How carefully should we abstain, not only from scornful words, but from that spirit of contempt and accusation which has resulted in such bitter fruit! How diligently should we strive to pluck the beam from our own eye, before seeking to cast the mote from our brother's eye!" And on April 27, 1861, the *Messenger* announces that the dreaded Civil War has actually come, "But the New Church, as a Church, can never cease to inculcate the duties of forbearance and forgiveness of injuries, and to frown upon the spirit of revenge and retaliation wherever it may appear."⁵ At the Convention of 1863 the following resolution with regard to the War was laid on the table. "Whereas, the political sins of our nation have at length culminated in a fearful and destructive civil war,—be it resolved, That it is a belief of this body, that the great national prosperity of our nation has been allowed to seduce the hearts of her people from the love and the knowledge of God, and therefore of all spiritual things, and so to cover the mind of the nation with the gross darkness of materialism." But an address to the British Conference the same year makes practically the same statement of causes: "Slavery has often been set down as the cause of our troubles; the seeming favors this, for the rebellion is chiefly in the slave states, and the rebels are mostly slaveholders. But even slavery is only a concomitant effect of a deeper cause," i.e., the above-mentioned "gross darkness of materialism."⁶ It was not until 1865 that any animosity toward the South appeared in the Convention. That year the meeting was held in Chicago, a hot-bed of New Church abolitionists, and several resolutions were passed which alienated the Southern New Churchmen from their Northern brethren."⁷

At the time of the War with Spain, instead of righteous indignation there was a questioning attitude toward our *own* noble motives, which in the light of our present imperialism sounds almost prophetic. "Swedenborg says that war is caused by the two master passions of the race, love of power and love of possession. . . . These two loves cannot be kept

bound, since it is according to Divine Providence for every one to be allowed to act from freedom according to reason, and without permissions man cannot be led from evil by the Lord, and so cannot be reformed and saved.—If the United States is not animated by these two motives in the present war with Spain, but by love to the neighbor, Cuba, then the war is right, otherwise, let us not be blind to the truth.”⁷⁸ When President McKinley was assassinated the *Messenger* said: “Our own unregenerate hearts are filled with all manner of evils from which we are only kept by the mercy of the Lord. . . . Let none of us imagine, because the evil in our own lives does not take the form of the assassin’s blow, that its influence is any less subversive of the principles upon which every government must rest if it is destined long to endure. Anarchy, disrespect of law, etc., are crimes of us all.”⁷⁹ This idea of the psychological solidarity of the race, and of group, as well as individual guilt, is a corollary of the doctrine of the Grand Man, and has been in the New Church an effective antidote to jingoism and hysteria in national crises, as well as to the “holier than thou” attitude in daily life.

In 1914 the *New Church Review* expressed its neutrality thus: “In the degree that one studies into the world situation culminating in this dreadful conflict, the easier it will be for him to come into a sincerely neutral state of mind, for he will see that hidden forces of evil have hurried these nations on into this frightful struggle quite against their wills.” There is desire for power in both England and Germany, and Austria is guilty of wanting to punish Serbia. The war will teach us the solidarity of the race, the maximus homo, for even the neutrals will suffer.⁸⁰ Belgium too is suffering for her crimes in Africa, as well as for her luxury and vice.⁸¹ This strict neutrality brought criticism from New Churchmen overseas. The English periodical, *Morning Light*, complained that they had looked in vain for “some really kind words of encouragement in their national trial.” The Convention tried to meet this criticism in its annual address to the English Conference, by reminding the English brethren that *their* neutrality in 1861 had been equally hard

to bear. The *Messenger* also received letters from German sympathizers criticizing the New Church for not laying the blame for the war on England.⁸²

By 1916 a few pacifistic communications had been published, and refuted, in the *Messenger*. "No man can be a conscientious pacifist unless he is consistent, and would adopt a policy of non-resistance, with regard to his own home and family,—would he kill to defend his family?"⁸³ And indeed, there is no basis for pacifism in the teachings of Swedenborg, who states unequivocally that wars which have for an end the protection of one's country are not opposed to charity.⁸⁴ In 1916 the following resolution offered by the pacifists was tabled: "Resolved, That the members of the New Jerusalem in Convention assembled hold war in utter detestation and abhorrence as international murder and robbery, and as forbidden by the Divine Commandments."⁸⁵ And in 1917 the Centennial Convention pledged its loyalty to the government in its war policies, for Swedenborg had declared, "That one's country should be loved, not as one loves oneself, but much more than himself, is a law inscribed on the human heart, . . . and that it is noble to die for it, and glorious for a soldier to shed his blood for it."⁸⁶

CHAPTER XIII

THE GENERAL CONVENTION SINCE
1890

The General Convention of the New Jerusalem reached its highest point, numerically speaking, in the last decade of the nineteenth century. During the succeeding years the decline has been more or less steady, as the following figures show.

	No. of Societies	No. of Ministers	No. of Members
1890	187	111	5272
1900	113	105	6926
1910	100	101	6430
1920	101	100	6582
1930	83	107	5805 (?) ¹

These figures, taken from the Convention Journals give only the regularly reported membership of the various Societies affiliated with the Convention, and do not include the isolated receivers. As a matter of fact the United States Census gives the New Church in some instances a much larger membership than the above, in 1890 for instance, 7095 members.² Carroll, in his *Religious Forces of the United States*, gives the General Convention 8,500 members in 1910.³ These discrepancies arise from the fact that there are hundreds of members of the New Church who, for one reason or another, are not affiliated with any Society, and whose names therefore do not appear in the Convention records.

This decline is a matter of deep concern to the New Church, and its causes are frequently discussed. At a meeting of the Massachusetts Association in 1929 it was reported that the membership had increased in the years from

1883 to 1898 from 1,486 to 1,817, or 22 per cent, but that since 1898 the decrease had been alarming. Societies had been discontinued in Lancaster, Salem, Springfield, Fall River, and Fitchburg,—and this in the section which for over a hundred years had been the very center of the New Church's strength. The report states that the Church is "suffering from spiritual atrophy" due to various causes, such as "worldliness, death and removals, the discouragement of small numbers, lack of faith, lack of understanding, appreciation and effective teaching of the doctrines."⁴

To offset the discouragement caused by this decline, the more philosophical fall back on the "permeation theory" for comfort. This theory, briefly, is that since the Last Judgment and the Descent of the New Jerusalem, the whole world is being gradually permeated by the new truths, and the new spiritual power. Though the world has not accepted the Writings of Swedenborg nevertheless his teachings have influenced its thought far more than it is aware. This optimistic point of view has been subjected to considerable criticism by the members of the General Church who consider the world hopelessly "vastated," and lost beyond any hope of redemption.⁵

On the other hand a good deal of interesting data has been collected by the "permeationists" to prove their contention. From the *New York Independent* as far back as 1869 comes this cheering tribute: "To a careless reader of ecclesiastical statistics, the Swedenborgian Church would seem to be one of the least of the great household of faith. To the careful student of religious thought it appears to be among the more important. It has made very few converts from the faith of orthodoxy; but it has materially modified that faith. . . . Whoever, therefore, desires to understand modern theology, and the elements which have contributed to its formation, has need to study the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg."⁶ And a similar testimonial comes from an article by the Rev. Heber Newton of the Episcopal Church: "Swedenborg's thought has been slowly leavening the great churches of Christianity in the Western world; and under its influence,

the traditional conception of immortality has been unconsciously changing. . . . The first really new conception of the character of immortality given to the world for eighteen centuries came through the great savant and philosopher and theologian of Sweden, Emanuel Swedenborg. . . . Whatever the nature and sources of this thought, its character was revolutionary,—he reconstructed the whole idea of the hereafter. For the first time in eighteen centuries, one might almost say for the first time in the history of humanity,—it took on sane and sensible forms, and became rational and conceivable, natural and necessary.”⁷ A Methodist Bishop, John H. Vincent, adds his testimony: “In my earlier ministry I devoted much time to the study of Swedenborg’s works. His teachings have accomplished much towards spiritualizing the religious thought of Christendom.”⁸ In *The Crime of Credulity*, Herbert N. Casson states that “Swedenborg’s ideas gradually permeated orthodoxy, and to a greater extent than has ever been acknowledged.”⁹ But the Evidence Society is obliged to admit this discouraging fact, “When we look for evidences of New Church influence upon the religious world, we meet the startling fact that the drift of religious opinion and conviction is unmistakably away from the two most vital and fundamental doctrines of the New Church, namely, the doctrine of the Lord, and the doctrine of the Sacred Scripture, in other words, the Divine Humanity of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the plenary inspiration of the Bible.”¹⁰

There is also a negative side to the permeation theory, and Canon Barry in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* (1913) gives the permeationists a little more than they bargained for. He calls Swedenborg “the father of Mormons, Spiritualists, Second Adventists; the direct guide of Thomas Lake Harris; the ancestor, several times removed, of Mrs. Eddy and her Christian Science. Swedenborg occupies in the development of these modern religions a place corresponding to that of Bacon as regards the Inductive Method. He is at once popular and scientific in appearance. . . . He whispers to each new Adam and Eve the secret long ago consigned to

Platonic Dialogues which only scholars read, of ‘heavenly counterparts,’ or marriages made in heaven. I am not speaking figuratively;—you may trace the amazing doctrine and its consequences along the path of Latter Day Saints, in the life and writings of Harris or Lawrence Oliphant, etc.”—all the way, straight to Reno!¹¹ This is considerably *more* permeation than the New Church has ever laid claim to!

The New Church Evidence Society was founded in 1895 “to take note of and make generally known such evidences of the New Church as may be found in literature or gathered from current talk; to correct misconceptions and misstatements; to provide ways of further conveying a knowledge of the New Church to the world, through the agency of committees suited to the circumstances of each locality.”¹² The following year they reported that a careful investigation had showed that all the misconceptions and misstatements regarding Swedenborg might be traced back to the bodies of opinion regarding him centering around Blake, Kant, Emerson, and the Brockmer insanity story circulated by Wesley.¹³ After five years more of investigation they reported, “On the basis of our records, we can not only say, in general, that the influence of Swedenborg’s teachings and New Church thought pervade the religious, philosophical, literary, and social life of our times, but we can give decisive instances and authoritative statements to show such influence. In science we have the case of the nebular hypothesis, while in the special branches of chemistry, physics, and physiology, we have evidence that Swedenborg anticipated, if he did not directly influence, the most recent methods and results. The same can be said of his relation to the doctrine of evolution. But aside from details, the largeness of view and correctness of perspective with which Swedenborg surveyed the field of science, gave a character to his influence which has made it potent not merely within the field of science itself, but in the wider and higher realm of philosophy. Recent studies point to the fact that Swedenborg’s influence is the decisive element in modern philosophy. We have found that his doctrines of the spiritual world, of degrees, and of space and

time, as given in the *Arcana Coelestia* influenced Kant, and probably determined the form and substance of his philosophy.”¹⁴

The former secretary of the Evidence Society, the Rev. Lewis F. Hite, professor of philosophy at the New Church Theological School, has made a number of interesting studies of the writings of Royce, James, and Münsterberg in their relation to the philosophy of Swedenborg, which have appeared from time to time in the *New Church Review*. He states that Royce’s *World and the Individual* is the best exposition extant, indirectly, of Swedenborg’s doctrine of Love, and that Münsterberg’s *Eternal Values* is the same for Swedenborg’s doctrine of the will. They are complementary to each other,—as Love and Wisdom. “Students of Swedenborg’s philosophy will be constantly reminded of points of contact. The thesis that the will is self-assertion and the whole exposition of the nature of self-assertion, must suggest Swedenborg’s doctrine of the proprium, and will help materially in expounding that doctrine.”¹⁵

Other examples of Swedenborg’s influence on modern thought are reported: “The growing popularity of Swedenborg’s doctrines is strikingly exhibited by the frequent and copious references in what we may call magazines of eccentric thought. In this list we place such as we find in Spiritualistic, Theosophic, and Christian Science circles, and in the various recrudescences of Orientalism. . . . They attract crude but eager minds, which would be greatly helped by sober and thoughtful presentations of Swedenborg’s doctrines.”¹⁶ There is also a new interest in Swedenborg as a psychologist. Reuen Thomas in *Leaders of Thought in the Modern Church* writes: “They (the many who have made themselves familiar with his works) admit him to be one of the greatest of great psychologists, and if in this chorus of voices my own whisper could be heard, I should be inclined to say that it is this wondrous psychological ability that distinguishes Swedenborg above all modern men.” And Julius Nelson writes in the *American Journal of Psychology* (February, 1890) “Swedenborg’s work on *The Soul, or Rational Psy-*

chology, though only relatively modern, is chosen for its representative character. It is probably the ablest exposition from a transcendental standpoint we have."¹⁷ The permeation theory is not, therefore, altogether an example of "wistful thinking."

This question of permeation leads naturally to a study of the methods of propaganda by which the doctrines are spread. In 1906 Clarence W. Barron, the great financial journalist, founder of the *Wall Street Journal*, who was one of the most zealous members of the Boston Society, undertook an investigation of the effectiveness of the methods in use. For this purpose he made a canvas of the membership of the entire New Church to find out how the majority had been converted. Out of 800 replies to his questionnaire, only 200 were brought up in the church, which proves that it is not, within itself, a growing body,—that is, it is not keeping its own children. This being the case, the question is, what are the most effective ways of bringing in outsiders? The replies to the questionnaire were tabulated as follows:

By the conversation of a friend	42½ %
By an address by a minister . . .	5 "
By an address by a missionary . . .	2 "
By reading Swedenborg . . .	19 "
By reading New Church literature . . .	19 "
By reading other literature . . .	6 "

The power of the press is here proved beyond a doubt,—45 per cent of the conversions having resulted from the printed word. The second largest figure shows the strong appeal of personal evangelism, whereas the clergy make a rather poor showing.¹⁸ Mr. Barron felt that this thoroughly corroborated Swedenborg's statement that the printing press was the true organ of the new gospel, and in 1927 he gave \$70,000 to the New Church for publicity and publication.¹⁹

And indeed the New Church has always pinned its faith to the power of the printed word. In 1858 Barrett wrote: "The great body of New Church literature, apart from the

writings of Swedenborg himself, is highly respectable, but, with one or two exceptions, we cannot say that it is either remarkable or brilliant. . . . But there is something more remarkable in the quantity than in the quality. . . . Perhaps in no other instance could we find a society of individuals, operating with a numerical force so weak and limited, and yet producing so great an amount of substantial and efficient labor.”²⁰ And the same statement might be made of the great quantity of literature produced since then. The New Church believes that “the kingdom of heaven cometh not by observation,” but by reading! Between the years 1801 and 1881 there were more than *thirty* New Church periodicals founded, though many of them had only a brief span of life.

In 1921 all the book concerns connected with the Convention were united to promote better coöperation and co-ordination of work. The extent of these publishing activities, as shown in their annual reports, is astonishing. In 1930 the Jungerich Fund, established in 1873 for the free distribution of the works of Swedenborg to the Protestant clergy, reported a grand total of 110,782 volumes since its foundation, and invested funds amounting to over \$60,000. The Rotch Trustees, publishers of the Rotch Edition of Swedenborg, reported a fund of almost \$20,000 on hand for publication uses, and the New Church Board of Publication, which publishes the *New Church Messenger* and considerable collateral literature, reports total assets of \$111,-623.36, and an annual expenditure of \$12,359.62.²¹ The Swedenborg Foundation, an organization entirely independent of the General Convention, but affiliated with it, reported total investments of \$510,144.72. They also reported for the year 14,588 books sold, and 28,278 donated. Since its incorporation in 1850 this organization has donated to libraries and other institutions, ministers, theological students, and other individuals a total of 872,432 volumes.²²

Besides these publishing activities there are various other methods of propaganda. The Lecture and Publicity Bureau, besides publishing and distributing thousands of leaflets annually, finances lectures, both platform and radio. Broad-

casting is now a regular feature of New Church publicity, being carried on from several centers, Los Angeles, Chicago, Cincinnati, Portland, Ore., Philadelphia, Boston, and New York. In connection with the broadcasting a great deal of follow-up work is done, including a correspondence course, and distribution of free literature, with highly gratifying results reported. The Chicago radio talks have resulted in the sale of almost 1,500 books. The Rev. John W. Stockwell of Philadelphia conducts the First Undenominational Radio Church, in which the teachings of Swedenborg are applied to social problems from a non-sectarian viewpoint, whereas the radio talks of the Rev. Arthur Wilde of New York, under the auspices of the Swedenborg Foundation, are clear-cut expositions of "distinctive New Church teaching."²³ One cannot help but think how happy Swedenborg would be to have his doctrines disseminated by this most ethereal of mediums by which time and space are all but eliminated, as he says they are in the spiritual world.

Closely allied to propaganda is missionary work. The *New Church Review* states that "in the broad sense the New Church has never been a missionary church," and that its interest in foreign missions is new. There are several reasons for this,—first, lack of funds in the early days of the church, and second, lack of necessity. According to Swedenborg the heathen have just as good a chance of ultimate salvation as Christians provided they live up to their own beliefs sincerely, and therefore there is no urgent need to save them from eternal damnation.²⁴ Contrary to the practice of the other churches, the New Church has not sent missionaries into foreign lands, but has waited to give assistance until a call has come from the field itself. For many years missionary work was confined to the home field, and consisted of the employment by the Convention of missionary ministers to cover certain territory, lecturing, preaching, baptizing, and distributing literature. Colportage has always been an important feature of the missionary work. Since the Civil War the growth of home missionary work has been rapid. In 1860 the amount spent for this purpose was only \$419.03,

but by 1880 this had increased to \$1,568.33, and included work in Georgia, Connecticut, Iowa, Tennessee, Missouri, Kansas, Illinois, and Virginia. By 1900 the amount had doubled, and in 1930 over \$32,000 was spent on missionary work (including also the foreign field). There are now several fields, with local headquarters in Seattle, Herbert, Saskatchewan, Minneapolis, Bellaire, Texas, Savannah, Ga., and Tampa, Fla. Seven hundred and twenty scattered receivers are reported in the South.²⁵

A special feature is the work among the colored people. The first colored mission was founded in Washington, D. C., in 1885, by P. C. Louis, a former slave, who had been instructed in New Church doctrines by Mrs. Mary W. Clarke in 1871. This struggling little mission was taken up by the Maryland Association, and an earnest appeal made to the Convention for assistance, by Mrs. Ellen Spencer Mussey. In a paper read at the Congress of Religions in Chicago in 1893 on "The Duty of the New Church to the African Race," Mrs. Mussey said: "After a hundred years of the New Church we have not yet done anything for them. Yet Swedenborg wrote, 'In heaven the Africans are the most loved of all the Gentiles: they receive the goods and truths of heaven more easily than the rest; they wish to be called the obedient, not the faithful.' . . . And nearly every other denomination has funds for colored work."²⁶ For a number of years missionary work among the colored people of Alabama was carried on by the Rev. George Gay Daniel, a colored teacher engaged in farm demonstration work under the State College of Agriculture. In a letter to the Convention he describes himself as not denominational, but like Paul, all things to all men. "I may be distinctly a New Churchman, but I am not 'distinctive,' as I understand this too technical a term for my missionary make-up."²⁷ The Rev. Mr. Daniel was for a time Convention missionary in James Glen's old home, British Guiana. There are now successful Societies of colored people in New York City, Cambridge, Mass., and Chicago.

The foreign missionary work began in coöperation with

the British Conference in the Scandinavian countries and Italy. Since the first wave of interest in the writings of Swedenborg among the scholars and nobility of Sweden, Germany, and France died out in the early nineteenth century, the New Church in Europe has languished, and its present feeble existence on the continent is due mainly to missionary activity from England and the United States. It is one of the ironies of history that Swedenborg's native land should be a "foreign mission field" for his own religion! Truly a prophet is not without honor save in his own country. In 1880 the Convention voted \$150 to the work being financed by the British Conference in Sweden and Denmark and an equal amount for Italy. Since then the interest in foreign missions has grown slowly. In 1890 Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were added to the mission field, and by 1900, Germany and Switzerland. This could hardly have been very extensive work, however, for the total amount subscribed that year was only \$725. In 1910 the amount was even less. It is obvious therefore that the real interest which now exists is the product of the last twenty years. By 1920 the change was marked, the amount spent being over \$5,000, 60 per cent of the amount for the home field. In 1930 the situation shows a remarkable advance, the amount spent abroad being \$14,830.74, and the field now including British Guiana, Dutch Guiana, Japan, the Philippines, Burma, Latvia, Austria, France, and Czecho-Slovakia. The Convention now gives partial or entire support to twenty-one ministers in fourteen countries.²⁸

The foreign mission policy of the New Church is as distinctive as its theology. It works on the principle that the interest must be spontaneous and indigenous. When such an interest arises, usually due to the discovery of Swedenborg's writings by some educated native who starts a reading circle, and an appeal for help is received, it is answered first by gifts of literature in the language of the country, or financial aid in its publication. The next step is the education, either at the Theological School in Cambridge, or the London New Church Theological School, of a suitable young

native and his ordination into the ministry. Eleven of these foreign students have been trained at Cambridge, seven of whom are now missionaries in their own countries. There is not one American in the foreign work of the New Church, this policy of developing native leadership having been followed consistently. The only exception to this rule was the sending of an American to the Philippines to organize the work and train native leaders, but this was only a temporary expedient. The feeling underlying this policy is that the Lord's New Church belongs to the world, and should take root in the racial and cultural background of every people according to their own particular genius.²⁹ It is clear that the type of New Church developed in the United States would not be the proper sort of New Church for Burma or British Guiana,—they must grow their own type of organization. Thus the New Church has avoided many pitfalls, such as foisting an alien culture along with an alien religion. Due to this enlightened policy there have been some interesting and unusual developments in connection with the New Church in foreign lands, such as a School of Music in Tokyo which started with a hundred and ninety-two pupils, and defeated the Government Music School in a contest.³⁰ The New Church is in a peculiarly favorable position for missionary work, doctrinally speaking, for Swedenborg saw in every heathen religion some "remains" of the Ancient Church preserved at its core to blossom forth in time into the New Christianity. Therefore it is more possible for the New Church to take a positive attitude toward the old faiths, and to build upon them as a foundation, without the painful necessity of uprooting them altogether.

The attitude of the New Church toward other denominations has been generally, as we have seen, one of extreme "separatism" and exclusiveness, but in 1893 an event occurred which brought it for the first time into close contact with other religions, not only of America but of the entire world. The periodical literature since then shows how broadening an experience this was. The event was the World's Parliament of Religions, held in connection with the Chi-

cago Exposition. The originator of the idea of such a Parliament was Charles Carroll Bonney, a prominent Chicago New Churchman. He had joined the New Church at the age of nineteen in Peoria, N. Y. "Here," says Mr. Bonney, "I was taught the fundamental truths which made a World Parliament of Religions possible; upon which rested the whole plan of the Religious Congresses of 1893. 'It is of the Lord's Divine Providence that every nation has some religion, and the foundation of all religion is an acknowledgment that there is a God; otherwise it is not called a religion; and every nation which lives according to its religion, that is, which refrains from evil because it is against its God, receives something spiritual into its natural principle.' (*Divine Providence*, 322.) 'There is a Universal influx from God, into the souls of men, teaching them that there is a God, and that He is one.' (*True Christian Religion*, 8.) For many years before the World's Columbian Exposition was proposed, I enjoyed the inestimable benefits of an intimate and cordial association with members and ministers of many different denominations, and made public addresses on 'Law and Order,' and 'Moral and Social Reforms' in many different churches. Thus I came to know the distinguishing characteristics of various religious organizations, to respect them sincerely, and yearn to understand the reasons for their peculiar views; to learn that all creeds have meanings which only those who profess them can explain; that the Church essentially consists in certain Divine things, and not in the ever varying views of men respecting the eternal verities.⁸¹

"While thinking about the nature and proper characteristics of this great undertaking [the Exposition], there came into my mind the idea of a comprehensive and well-organized Intellectual and Moral Exposition of the progress of mankind to be held in connection with the proposed display of material forms. . . . I commenced to discuss it with intimate friends, and among them spoke of it to Mr. Walter Thomas Mills, then editor of the *Statesman* magazine."⁸² An article on the subject in the *Statesman*, September 20, 1889, was received with favor, and on October 15th a Gen-

eral Committee of Organization was appointed with Mr. Bonney chairman. This tremendous project of Mr. Bonney's included separate congresses on Art, Agriculture, Commerce and Finance, Education, Engineering, Government, Literature, Labor, Medicine, Moral and Social Reform, Music, the Public Press, Religion, Temperance, Science, and Philosophy. There was also a Woman's Branch, of which Mrs. Potter Palmer was President. Not only was a New Churchman the inaugurator and President of this great organization, but another New Churchman, Daniel H. Burnham, the chief architect of the Exposition, was chairman of the Architecture division.³³

"When it pleased God to give me the idea of the World's Congresses of 1893," said Mr. Bonney in his opening address, "there came with that idea a profound conviction that their crowning glory should be a fraternal conference of the world's religions." To this end he had appointed a committee of the leading clergymen of Chicago, with the Rev. John Henry Barrows, D.D., of the First Presbyterian Church, as chairman. Among the purposes of the Congress, as stated by the Committee in their prospectus, was the following: "To secure from leading scholars full and accurate statements of the spiritual and other effects of the religions which they hold upon the literature, art, commerce, government, domestic and social life of the peoples among whom these faiths have prevailed." In this way the Religious Congress was to be linked up with the general cultural purposes of all the others. "The realization of a Religious Parliament was mainly due to Mr. Bonney's tact,—to his impartiality toward all, his reconciliatory spirit in the clash of opposed interests, his conservatism and circumspection."³⁴

The Congress was opened by President Bonney with the following words: "Worshippers of God and Lovers of Man: Let us rejoice that we have lived to see this glorious day. . . . In this Congress the word Religion means the love and worship of God, and the love and service of man. . . . We seek to unite all Religion against irreligion; to make the Golden Rule the basis of this union; and to present to the

world the substantial unity of many Religions in the good deeds of the Religious life. . . . We meet on the mountain height of absolute respect for the religious convictions of each other.”⁸⁵ This opening scene is described thus: “In the midst of this impressive and august body, with cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests, and scholars of all the Faiths of mankind on his right and left, sat as president, organizer, and director of the whole,—a New Churchman, our zealous and beloved brother, Charles C. Bonney, Esq. . . . Later, in the wonderful closing scenes of the Parliament, the night of the parting, he was hailed and cheered by the vast audience rising to their feet and waving their handkerchiefs, so that it was long before he could utter his words of humble and sincere acknowledgment and gratitude.”⁸⁶ Before the Parliament closed a movement was on foot for its extension, and a Committee appointed with Mr. Frank M. Bristol of the Methodist Church of Evanston, chairman, and Dr. Paul Carus, editor of the *Monist*, secretary. Dr. Carus had taken a great deal of interest in the Parliament, and had presented a paper on “Science and Religious Revelation” at one of the sessions. He now became one of the prime movers in the effort to make the work of the Parliament permanent.⁸⁷

Since the Congress of Religion the New Church has shown a spirit of greater friendliness and coöperation toward the “old churches.” In 1917 the question of the advisability of joining the Federal Council of Churches came up, and an article on the subject in the *New Church Review* reveals this new attitude. “No New Churchman can consider the things we have been presenting without some feeling of conviction that the Lord is revitalizing the Old Churches, and infilling them with the spirit of the New. . . . It is vastly important for the New Church to consider its relation to other churches.” That year the Convention voted to accept the invitation from the Federal Council, and the following year the President of Convention commented on this improved attitude: “We seem to be less self-centered; and the spirit is one that asks humbly but earnestly for a share in the work of serving the Lord and our fellow men in this time of stress and strife.”⁸⁸

The World's Congresses also gave a great impetus to New Church women by their discussions of the relation of the New Church to the Woman Movement, and to the general question of woman's place and function in the world. Since the nineties New Church women have played an increasingly important part in the affairs of the Church. When the church in Washington, D. C., burned in 1889, it was felt that the Convention should assist the Washington Society to replace it with a National House of Worship adequate to its location in the national Capital, and the women of the church were active in raising the necessary funds. In fact, over half the amount of almost \$106,000 came from three women, Mrs. Margareta DuPont of Wilmington, Mrs. Nancy Scudder of Washington, and Mrs. Melissa Hotchkiss of Middletown, Conn.³⁹

The National Alliance of New Church Women was founded in 1904 when eighty delegates from the various societies held a preliminary meeting in Washington to draw up by-laws for the new organization. Its first regular meeting was held in Boston the following year. A questionnaire was sent to the different societies to find out what were their principal fields of work within the church, whether they undertook any activities outside the church, what new plans had been tried during the year, and what were their most perplexing problems. During its twenty-five years of life the Alliance has contributed heavily in money and effort to the upbuilding of the church. In 1915 it contributed toward the payment of the debt on the new parish house in Washington, and to Urbana University. In 1916 it was reported at the Convention that the women had come to the rescue of the Pension Fund Committee in its almost hopeless struggle against a dead weight of indifference toward this most necessary work of charity. Through their efforts the annual subscriptions to the Fund had been raised from \$667 to \$2,827. In 1917 the Alliance sent over \$1,500 and many cases of clothing to England for war relief. In 1930 a paying membership of \$1,150 was reported, and total receipts for the year of \$1,075.37. Of this \$500 was given to the Mis-

sion Board, \$100 to Urbana, and \$125 for other purposes.⁴⁰

Since 1918 there has been a special number of the *Messenger* every year devoted to articles by members of the Alliance, which are interesting testimony to the varied interests of New Church women. There are also papers read at the monthly meetings on either doctrinal subjects, or questions of the day from the New Church point of view. Many of these papers show careful preparation, and an unusual degree of hard thinking. The function of the Alliance in the Church has been described by one of its members as follows: "As the Church, in the higher sense, is the mother of the community, so the women within its organization quite naturally assume responsibilities befitting a spiritual womanhood operating on both the Mary and Martha planes. As in the home, also, a mother's duty reaches from the most menial task to the higher education of her children, so the women of the Church sew and cook and clean house; also they study the writings, and discuss their application to the problems at hand. . . . Diverse as are the needs in different communities or in their local societies, no less diverse are the activities of women in their several centers. Yet with all this diversity there is a common background. The pattern and the web may differ, but the woof is the same,—love of service."⁴¹

One of the most difficult problems which the New Church, like all the others, has to deal with is that of keeping its young people, and this problem begins to be felt acutely even in the Sunday School. In 1924 the report of the Sunday School Association contains the following resolution: "That we deplore the decrease in membership in New Church Sunday Schools at a time when Sunday Schools of other denominations are increasing; That we attribute this decrease mainly to the mistaken attitude of our Church workers in not making a strong enough appeal to the children's emotions, and we urge upon all to take a most earnest attitude of love first and instruction second." With regard to the use of the International Course of Lessons there had been considerable discussion. "Some felt that the outside helps are not only a

step backward, but a real danger. Others felt that they are the only really good helps for children. The International Course is written by experts and appeals to children as nothing yet produced by the New Church has.”⁴² A little weekly magazine called *Sunday Afternoons*, containing lesson material, is published by the New Church, but some of the more progressive Sunday Schools prefer the International Course. A questionnaire sent out by the Sunday School Association netted the following discouraging figures:

1901 Enrollment	3978	Average attendance	2471
1929	“ 3055	“ “	1782

The reasons for this ominous decline are given as lack of up-to-date methods, of adjustment to changing communities, and of modern-minded, trained teachers. An even more alarming decline was reported in October, 1930: six less Sunday Schools, and *five hundred* less pupils than in 1929,—a startling loss for one year. It has been estimated by a statistician that if the New Church had kept her children from the beginning there would now be a church membership of over six hundred thousand!⁴³

From the Sunday School the young people graduate normally into the New Church League, a small but lively organization. The League was founded in Boston in 1875, six years before the Christian Endeavor, under the name of the Young People’s Association, the Rev. H. Clinton Hay being one of the founders. The plan was followed by several other Societies, and about ten years later the local Associations were united as the National American New Church League. The new organization grew steadily up to 1917 when a membership of about 1,500 was reported, but since then there has been a sharp decline, until in 1925 it reached a low ebb of only 700. Since then, however, there has been a marked increase in interest and membership, there now being thirty-one Senior and ten Junior Leagues.⁴⁴ The *New Church League Journal*, a monthly magazine, founded in 1900, proves that the young people are following New

Church tradition with regard to a fondness for literary activities. And not only does the League publish its own magazine, but also produces special League numbers of the *Messenger*. The *League Journal* reveals the varied interests of the young people, such as the relation of Christianity to the race problem, business and industry, student problems, international relations, sex education, and recreation. There is a marked tendency in the League toward a vital interest in the Social Gospel. The discussion group method is used at League meetings with great success. A criticism of certain types of discussion appears in this refreshing communication from a dissenter. "Dear Editor: Since when have our Young People's League discussion groups partaken of the nature of an 'Affairs of the Heart' column in the daily newspaper? One cannot help wondering this after reading in the January *Journal* suggested questions for discussion such as the following: Is kissing wise before an engagement? How young is it wise to marry? Should people who are not sure of financial security start a family, etc. . . . I do not want to come right out and say that I think such questions foolish, but I should like to ask if any one really considers the discussion of such topics useful? . . . It is safe to say that if John wants to kiss Mary, albeit they are not engaged, John will kiss Mary, providing she is equally willing,—although all the Leagues in the country combine in saying it shouldn't be done. Therefore why talk about it?"⁴⁵

The young people are also severe critics of the Church. Their Ritual Committee recommends the introduction of hymns with distinctly New Church ideas, and expresses its disapproval of the Liturgy as "a perversion of the Anglican," and a desire for "a distinctly New Church service." Some of the young people do not care for the preaching. "The typical New Church sermon," writes one discontented youth, "apparently does not reach me to any appreciable degree whatsoever. I cannot understand 'Swedenborgese,' nor can I interpret it in the everyday language that I know. Other young people with whom I have talked have the same difficulty. What do such things as 'Divine Love and Wisdom,'

or 'Divine light and power' mean? On the other hand, when I listen to ministers from other churches who preach in the college chapel, I not only can understand their points quite readily, but I have the feeling that my background of New Church principles gives me a deeper insight than I should otherwise have. It is all very confusing. I have been told that as I get older I shall get more out of New Church sermons, and no doubt I shall. But this would only seem to indicate that the New Church is only for those of considerable experience and religious training, which excludes the younger members of society at the outset. . . . Hence I conclude that young people in general cannot and will not 'be bothered' to stay in the Church."⁴⁶ This criticism is of course extreme, but the problem, so clearly stated, is for the New Church a life and death matter.

Another feature of the New Church which is of particular interest to the young people is the three Summer Schools, or Assemblies, one at Almont, near LaPorte, Ind., another at Fryeburg, Maine, and a third in California. The Almont Assembly began in 1887 at a New Church summer resort called Weller's Grove, conducted by the family of the Rev. Henry Weller, founder of the LaPorte Society. There were morning prayers, and meetings for discussion of the doctrines. It was hoped that it would grow into a sort of New Church Chautauqua. In the nineties the instruction feature was developed by the late Rev. E. J. E. Schreck, and in 1920 the first regular two weeks' Summer School session was held. In 1930 there was an average weekday attendance of eighty, with double the number over the week-ends. There were lectures, discussion groups, a question box, and the usual recreational activities.⁴⁷ The Fryeburg Assembly, an undertaking inspired by the success of the Almont Assembly, held its first session in 1921, and by 1929 had a total registration of 148. A special feature of this Assembly is an organization of young people who call themselves "the Fryeburg Flames," who carry on discussion groups under their own leadership. This "flaming youth" of Fryeburg has met with some rather drastic criticism from its elders. In an article

in the *Review* these young people are told that they have been weighed and found wanting because their attitude echoed "the naturalistic and individualistic radicalism of the day." The *Messenger*, always the friend of the young people, rose to their defense, saying that the most important thing, their serious interest in Social Christianity, has apparently not been taken seriously enough by their critics. The following questions taken from the blackboard during their discussions reveal this interest: "What should be our attitude toward authority? toward classes, rich and poor? toward colored people? Is it ever right to tell a white lie? to kill, in war or any other time?" They also discuss the relation of New Church teaching to birth control, suicide, capital punishment, child labor, prohibition, vivisection, mental healing, spiritualism, non-resistance, church unity, petting, monogamy, trial and companionate marriage. The *Messenger* goes on to say: "They are not particularly attracted by compromise. . . . They refuse to listen to our lullabies. . . . Therefore we shall have to enter into their problems or see the best of them go, if they have not gone already. Which shall it be?"⁴⁸

"New Church Education," once so vital an interest in the Convention, has dwindled to a place of comparative unimportance, the Theological School at Cambridge, and the University (now a Junior College) at Urbana, being the only educational institutions under the control of the Convention. There is a New Church Boarding School for Girls at Waltham, but that is a private concern. The Theological School has had its "ups and downs." 1908 seems to have been the lowest point, with a student body of two, a faculty of four, and an annual running expense of almost \$9,000! In 1910 four resident students were reported, and several taking a correspondence course. By this time the endowment fund had reached the sum of \$266,825.74, and the annual expenditures over \$16,000, an impressive outlay for four students. 1920 showed an even more unsatisfactory situation,—five students and a deficit of \$3,000. This dearth of candidates for the ministry presented a serious problem, and

the requirement of a college education for entrance has never been very rigidly enforced. Its opponents point to the incontestable fact that some of the ablest ministers the Church has produced have not been college men. In 1924 a survey of theological schools in America was made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research which was favorable in some respects to the New Church School and unfavorable in others. The 1930 report of the School shows a decided improvement, with ten students, two of whom are also working for a Harvard degree. The correspondence course had twenty-five students, several being in foreign lands. The annual expenditure of \$27,503.02 was more than met by the annual income of \$56,537.88.⁴⁹

The story of Urbana has been an even more checkered one. Its complete collapse during the Civil War was, as we have seen, followed by a brief renaissance in the seventies, until the resignation in 1886 of its President, the Rev. Frank Sewall, after fifteen years of struggle with an inadequate endowment and teaching staff. The curriculum was at this time wholly unbalanced, with ninety-four hours a week devoted to languages, eleven to English, seven to the sciences, and only twenty-two for all the rest. Outside of mathematics and the classics the course was entirely inadequate. There were no graduates from 1881 to 1885, and the college department fell from seventeen to five. In 1888 the total enrollment was only twenty-nine, and forty years later, in 1928, thirty-one, a most discouraging lack of growth. Of these only three were New Church children, and there was only one New Church instructor,—a telling commentary on the Church's attitude toward its own school.⁵⁰ In 1920 a gift of \$160,000 was made to the endowment fund by the college's most celebrated alumnus, General T. Coleman DuPont, and an equal amount raised by the Convention. A letter to the *Messenger* stating that New Church people contributed to the fund out of sheer loyalty, but that they do not send their children there because they do not believe in sectarian education, brought in a flood of replies on both sides of the question.⁵¹ In 1923 Urbana was reorganized as

a Junior College with a two-year course of college grade, the last two years of college being dropped from the curriculum. It was reported in 1927 that Urbana met nearly all the requirements for Junior Colleges made by the North Central Association, the deficiency being mainly in number of pupils. In 1930 the student body was seventy-five (more than the required sixty), and the endowment was half a million. The faculty consists of seven men and two women,—one Ph.D., five M.A.'s, a M.S., a B.S., and an art teacher trained in Europe. It seems that at last Urbana is permanently on the up-grade.⁶²

Urbana has never been a "distinctively New Church" school in the same sense as the Academy Schools. From the beginning "old church" children have been admitted, and doctrinal courses have been optional. In his commencement address in 1903 Professor Hite said: "It takes its place in the community, not as a sectarian school, but as a school for humanity. It imposes its theological and religious tenets upon no one, although it provides ample opportunity for all its students to learn and appreciate its distinctive principles. Its ideal is to make its academic instruction as broad and as deep as the scholarship of the world, but it proposes to crown its science and philosophy with religious conceptions which will lift the minds of students into a higher realm and enable them to live happier, fuller, and more truly human lives than the world has yet known. . . . To secure the complete harmony and union of these two aspects of our educational system, the academic and the religious, we propose that the instruction in each of the academic departments include the relation of the subject to our specific doctrines. . . . In each department the instruction is to be thorough and comprehensive, embracing (1) the science at its most advanced stage, (2) a survey of its history, and (3) Swedenborg's relation to the science and his position in the history. The whole organization of the academic faculty and the entire instruction of the curriculum would thus be concentrated upon the study of Swedenborg and would be engaged in working over, ever afresh, his historical and academic rela-

tions.”⁵³ This ideal is very far from being achieved, however, due to the fact that, besides the President, only two members of the faculty are members of the New Church. Education at Urbana is “vocational” in a Swedenborgian sense. “The principle we proclaim is the *principle of use*, and it may be stated concretely as follows: the right purpose and true end of human life is the man’s greatest use to the community. This use centers in the employment he selects as his life’s work. A man’s first duty, then, is to do his work for the sake of its use to others, and not for the sake of its advantages to self. . . . Our educational ideal is the fitting of man to his sphere, but we recognize new powers to be brought into exercise, and new elements to be appropriated, as well as new interests to be served, in his special sphere. One’s vocation then, is the basis, support, and foundation of the superstructure of the higher life. In it and by means of it the higher life is embodied and expressed.”⁵⁴

President Franklin H. Blackmer describes the aims of the College as follows: “For years Urbana has sought to lead youth into the habit of regarding the spiritual plane of life as prior in reality and importance to the social and physical. It has sought to have young people realize that the natural life and the spiritual life are discrete degrees, and that a life devoted to natural and worldly things is in danger of leaving the spiritual degree closed. . . . Urbana is supremely a place where the spiritual world and revelation are taken for granted. Love, as embodied in the Lord, in mankind, and in individuals, is recognized as the impelling force, the very life,—it is not under suspicion as a mere abstraction, nor is it confused with sentiment. This view of love has far-reaching implications in the psychology of education. ‘Use’ is not merely a convenient description of observed relationships and ‘service.’ Hardly less important is the view of causation and correspondences as it affects matters of science.”⁵⁵ The sciences are taught at Urbana according to the current theories, but always in the light of Swedenborg’s teaching that the spiritual world is the world of causes, and the natural, the world of effects. Evolution is taught as “the only philos-

ophy which holds any reasonable hope for the future," and "as the best incentive to the younger generation to improve." The aim of study is "to unite the two hitherto separated and irreconcilable factors (of science and theology) into a sublime unity, order and beauty in which they stand revealed in the light of the science of Correspondences and of the spiritual sense of the Scripture."⁵⁶

A unique pedagogical chart based on the teachings of Swedenborg is used in the courses in Interpretation of Civilization, by which all the aspects of civilization are correlated. "It will be seen that the first half is historical and the last half resultant from that history. It is divided into brief easily scanned sections titled according to the primal, succeeding, present and future connections between the human race and its Origin. The statements for these sections are concentrated synopses from the Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg. . . . Almost every phase of the study of Civilization is directly connected with some reaction of nations and peoples to the pressure of spheres from the Spiritual World. (Sections: Heaven, World of Spirits, and Hell.) It will be seen that languages, in their adoptions or discardings of the vestiges of Correspondence, in the preponderance or lack of labial, dental, guttural, consonantal or vowel sounds (Section: Man in Order); also that Biology, Botany, Zoology and Physiology, Geology, Chemistry, Physics and Mathematics, in their different degrees of condensation of spiritual substance into material recipients or conduits of life (Section: Substantiality of Spirit); that Philosophy in its efforts to restore a lost mental order (Section: Disorder), Psychology in its premonitions of extra-mundane causes; the Social Sciences in their researches into heredity and the innate craving of man for freedom in all personal relations; the technique of the Arts in their necessary sensitizing of the hand and eye and ear to the ideas; and that Physical Education in its predominant urge for the effectiveness of the body as an instrument of the Will and the Understanding—all these can find, if they wish, their kernel of solution in some department of this chart."⁵⁷

The methods in use at Urbana are distinctly progressive, the emphasis being placed on individual work, and the development of individual initiative. There is a delightful atmosphere of freedom and spontaneity in the classrooms and laboratories, and the relation between the faculty and the students seems to be one of greater and more constructive intimacy than is possible in a larger college. Though the teaching at Urbana is not "distinctively New Church," and only a very small proportion of the students come from New Church homes, there is nevertheless a distinctly "New Church sphere" of calm and cheerful devotion to "uses," as well as a fine spirit of progressive idealism.

In the field of adult education some interesting work is being done by the New Church in its Group Study Bureau under the direction of the Rev. John W. Stockwell and Dr. John R. Swanton. This work was put on a Convention basis in 1924. There were at that time five Groups at work on the following subjects: (1) Swedenborg and Natural Science; (2) The New Church and the Science of Music; (3) The New Church and Evolution; (4) Character-Building; (5) The New Psychology of Childhood. The following year there were some interesting developments in Philadelphia, including a group of people, not members of the Church, studying the New Psychology in its relation to the psychology of Swedenborg under Mr. Stockwell. Special attention had been paid to correlating the modern view of the instincts with Swedenborg's teaching about the sense life. The following year the Science Group sponsored the publication, by the Four Seas Company, of *An Epitome of Swedenborg's Science*, a monumental work by the late Frank Washington Very, the astro-physicist. In 1929 the Bureau reported another field of activity, the issuing of bulletins containing new scientific data of interest in relation to the teachings of Swedenborg. These bulletins are especially intended for the use of the clergy. They are also making a permanent collection of such data, as well as charts, diagrams, etc., illustrating it. All this valuable research work in science is done under the leadership of Dr. John R. Swanton, a well-

known ethnologist of the Smithsonian Institution. The 1930 report shows some interesting additions: a Committee on Swedenborg Terms under Dr. Clarence Hotson, a study which has been too much neglected; and a Committee on Spiritual Health under Mrs. Latilla Levis Homiller, designed to meet the needs of a large number of New Church people who feel that the time is opportune for a study of the question of spiritual healing in relation to the teachings of Swedenborg. The Committee on Psychology reports that the coördination of modern psychology with Swedenborg has reached the point of the set-up of a new system of psychology which they have named "Neo-Behaviorism."⁵⁸

It has been seen in an earlier chapter that the problem of worship has always been a difficult one for the New Church. "What is to be the source and character of the public and private worship of the New Church? Is it to be absolutely 'new' in form, or is it to recognize and appropriate to its use some of the venerable customs and observances of the Early Christian Church? Our Church occupies a unique position, historically, among the churches of Christendom. It is not an offshoot of the Lutheran or Protestant movement, nor is it an outgrowth of the Catholic Church."⁵⁹ This may be true, and yet the New Church is most definitely *Protestant* in the form and spirit of its services, due naturally enough to the Protestant background of its converts. Only at Bryn Athyn is there a faint breath of the spirit of Catholicism. This Protestant atmosphere is especially apparent in the architecture of its churches, in which, with one or two exceptions, there has been no attempt at any new forms. Both in architecture and in Liturgy the effect is similar to that of "low church" Episcopalianism.

The Liturgy of 1857, produced after so many years of earnest effort, did not give satisfaction for long, and was never used by all the Societies. Fortunately a genuine student of liturgy now appeared, the Rev. Frank Sewall, who had made a thorough study of all the historical forms. He published in 1867 for the use of his own congregation in Glendale, Ohio, a *New Churchman's Prayer Book and*

Hymnal, approaching the Anglican form more closely than any of the Convention liturgies. It follows the conventional Christian Year, with tables of lessons for the church season, and contains a reformed Doxology, Te Deum, and Litany, modeled after the Book of Common Prayer. It even uses the typically "high church" terms of "compline, lauds, and matins." This book has had a profound effect on the Convention liturgy. More and more the need has been felt to get away from the extreme Protestant heredity, and evolve a ritual making use of the warm emotional and esthetic appeal of the Anglican forms. A committee was appointed in 1892 to revise the liturgy, and two tentative forms were produced in 1907 and 1910. Mr. Sewall was chairman of this committee, and many of his ideas are reflected in the final edition of 1913.⁶⁰

In the Preface to the *Book of Worship* the aim is stated thus: "Recognizing the desirability of uniformity, as promotive of familiarity and a home-feeling in the coming together in worship of those widely separated, provision for such uniform use is made by the introduction of a fixed Order of 'Morning and Evening Services' with the option, however, of omissions and variations as indicated in the rubrics. At the same time the liberal collection of Introductory Sentences, of Prayers and Thanksgivings, for optional use both as to materials and order, as well as the provision of the entire Book of Psalms arranged for Reading or Chanting, in course or in selections, allows for elasticity in the use of the book requisite for the freedom and pleasure of worship in a body composed, as the New Church must continue to be for many generations, of those of widely varying antecedents and preferences in their devotional forms." It is noticeable that the Authorized Version is used, being altered only "where greater fidelity to the original text demanded it," instead of Swedenborg's own translation.⁶¹ This concession to "old church" use was doubtless due to the liturgical superiority of the Authorized Version to any of the more accurate translations. Some of the liturgical forms are especially impressive. Instead of the conventional Doxologies

with their Trinitarian theology, the New Church has evolved a beautiful one of its own:

"To Jesus Christ the Lord be glory and dominion: forever and ever. Amen. He is the Alpha and the Omega, the Beginning and the End, the First and the Last: who is, and who was, and who is to come, the Almighty."

Among the more original and "distinctively New Church" prayers is the following:

"O Lord, who at thy First Coming as the Word made Flesh, didst open the understanding of thy disciples that they might know the Scriptures and behold Thee therein; and who hast in these latter days by opening the inner meaning of thy Word fulfilled thy promise and come again to mankind in a new and fuller revelation of Thyself; grant us, we beseech Thee, with grateful hearts and devoted lives, truly to acknowledge Thee in this the Second Coming, to worship Thee in spirit and in truth and to proclaim thy righteous Kingdom, who, as the only God of heaven and earth, reignest in thy Divine Humanity forever, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."⁶²

Swedenborg says: "Let it be known that all true worship consists in adoration of the Lord, adoration of the Lord in humiliation, and humiliation in one's acknowledgement that in himself there is nothing living, and nothing good, but that all within him is dead, yea, as a lifeless body, and in the acknowledgement that everything living and everything good is from the Lord." (*Arcana Coelestia*, 1153.) "It is with such passages as this in mind that the order of worship was arranged to begin with penitence and prayers, and proceed through praise to instruction, first from the Word, then from the Church through its ministers."⁶³ But in spite of all this careful thinking and sincere striving after the essentials of worship the service seems to lack the devotional warmth of the Anglican form. The reason for this is difficult to analyze, but it lies probably in the great preponderance of responsive reading and chanting over prayer. The actual periods of prayer when the congregation are on their knees are too short to permit continuity of worship. That mood

of "adoration of the Lord in humiliation" of which Swedenborg speaks so understandingly is not achieved in a moment,—time is required to induce a true attitude of meditation. This lack of devotional atmosphere is also due in part to an uninspiring architectural setting in Convention churches. Like the Puritans and the Quakers, the New Church has seemed afraid of visual beauty in religion.

Auditory appeal, on the other hand, plays an important part in a New Church service, so much of the liturgy being in the form of chants from the Psalter. The *Magnificat*, the Convention Hymnal, published in 1910, contains all but thirty of the hymns in the earlier collection, and sixty new hymns in addition. In the Preface it is stated that "Some of the most modern and popular of the songs used in the large 'revival' and missionary meetings have been obtained, at considerable copyright expense," the reason for this departure being "that they seem to be the utterance of a new affection in the religious world directed to the Lord Jesus in Person, in recognition of his Divinity, of his redeeming love, and of his constant presence as Saviour and Comforter. It has been the careful endeavor of the committee to eliminate from these and from all the hymns introduced every expression of false doctrine or unworthy sentiment." In the list of authors the names which appear the most often are Charles and John Wesley, Isaac Watts, Bishop Heber, John Keble, John Mason Neale, Joseph Proud, Frank Sewall, and Catherine Winkworth.⁶⁴ These two books, the *Magnificat* and the *Book of Worship*, represent a hundred years of earnest and intelligent effort to embody the teachings of the New Church in a satisfactory form, and the result is, generally speaking, commensurate with the effort.

Perhaps nowhere can the New Church be studied to better advantage than at an annual Convention, for here its many-sided external aspects as well as its inner nature are revealed. The General Convention is both an administrative and an ecclesiastical body. Its Council of Ministers considers all mooted questions of doctrine, and reports on them to the general body, which either directly or indirectly settles all

disputes. The Convention passes on candidates for the ministry, after their names have been presented by their local Associations and approved by the Council of Ministers. As the majority of the voting members of the Convention are lay delegates, the New Church may be said to be, in theory at least, under the control of the laity. It will be remembered that this was one of the Academy's bitterest complaints,—this "subjection" of the priesthood to the laity. But though the laymen have the numerical advantage in the Convention (107 lay delegates to 58 ministers in 1930), a careful study of the membership of the important boards and standing committees which carry on the affairs of the Church throughout the year will prove that it is the clergy who are really "in the saddle."⁶⁵ Also the ministers are the most in evidence in the Convention, only about a dozen laymen being noticeably active. Although there were fifty women among the lay delegates in 1930, almost half the number, except for their voting power, their influence seemed negligible. With a few minor exceptions they did not enter into the discussions on the floor, probably due to a lingering prejudice against women's speaking in church. In short, the New Church, like most of the *Old*, is still "a man's world," and also like most of the *Old*, is largely dominated by its clergy.

The Convention of 1930, which was held in the Boston Church from June 21st to June 24th, was especially well attended, New England being still the center of the Church. There were present 58 ministers, 107 delegates, and several hundred visitors. The Associations represented were California, Canada, Illinois, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and the Connecticut, Portland, Ore., and St. Paul Societies. The Church across the seas was represented by the Rev. Albert E. Edge, former president of the British Conference, and the Rev. Adolf L. Goerwitz, of Zurich, head of the Schweizersicher Bund der Neuen Kirche. The names of the delegates, as well as their faces, showed a solid eighty-five per cent of Anglo-Saxon lineage, the other fifteen per

cent being mainly Teutonic and Scandinavian. A more perfectly "Nordic" gathering would be hard to find. The list of Associations represented show the geographical distribution of the New Church:—the Atlantic Seaboard from Maine to Maryland, four Middle Western states, one on the Pacific Coast, and none south of Mason and Dixon.⁶⁶ Another significant fact was the age of the delegates. Downstairs in the Sunday School room the Young People's League was holding its annual meeting, but upstairs in the Convention gray heads and bald heads were emphatically predominant. The Convention is a gathering of middle-aged people, which accounts for much of its conservatism. The more progressive age, from twenty to forty, seems to be largely missing, due no doubt to the more exacting family duties of young married people.

The general inspirational subject chosen for the Convention was "Power from on High," on some aspect of which the various addresses were based. "The nineteen hundredth anniversary of Pentecost is engaging new Christian interest in the descent of the Holy Spirit. The beginning of the first Christian Church has historic importance. . . . Power from on High is Divine Truth entering the comprehension of men and working in their lives. Reception of it is limited only by proper use of it. The effect of it is regenerating humanity. 'The Holy Spirit is the Divine Truth and also the Divine virtue and operation, proceeding from the one only God, in whom there is a Divine Trinity, proceeding from the Lord God, the Saviour.' (*True Christian Religion*, 138.)"⁶⁷

The Treasurer's Report, which is printed in the form of a twenty-page leaflet, and distributed at the opening of the Convention, gives an excellent picture of the financial status of the Church as a whole. The general income and expense account for 1930 shows an amount of \$78,013.06. Besides this there are special funds, the Bissell Estate, the Orphanage Fund, the Washington Sunday School Building Expense, and the Childs Memorial Fund, representing another total of over \$30,000 on hand. The Augmentation Fund reports total receipts since 1912 of \$370,587.91, and an expenditure

for the year 1930 of over thirty-two thousand dollars. The total investments of the Convention are reported at \$1,588,-948.08. These are income bearing funds.⁶⁸ The U. S. Census of Religious Bodies of 1926 gives the total value of the property devoted to educational purposes as \$889,808, and \$600,000 invested in publication enterprises. Besides this there was at that time an investment of \$3,196,000 in church edifices, and a yearly church expenditure of \$260,-373.⁶⁹ Luther C. Fry puts the General Convention highest of all the denominations in the United States in his valuation of church property in proportion to membership, his figure being \$600.88 per adult member. The second highest is the Unitarian Church with 467.⁷⁰ According to these various sets of figures, therefore, the New Church is seen to be, in proportion to its membership, an exceedingly rich body, and presents the interesting spectacle of a small organization of less than six thousand members in control of property approximating six million dollars.

An interesting feature of the Convention is the Forum, an open discussion meeting held in the evening, and dealing with problems of immediate interest. The Forum began as the New Church Round Table, founded in 1893 by Miss A. E. Scammon at the time of the World's Congress of Religions, for the purpose of giving the men and women a chance for free and informal discussion of vital problems, "as human souls, without thought of sex." It does not seem to have been a conspicuous success, however, for in 1902 the Committee advocated giving it up, since the women would not speak when the men were present! "Although the Committee recognizes it is more normal for men and women to work together than separately, the Church has apparently not reached the stage of development to make this practicable."⁷¹ But it was not given up, although the women still do not take a very active part in its discussions.

There are also numerous social events during Convention, which are delightfully friendly and informal, closing with a banquet. An especially interesting feature of the Boston Convention was an excellent presentation of "Outward

Bound" by the Newtonville Dramateurs. This is a play which is frequently given by New Church groups, due to its subject matter dealing with life after death.

The 1930 Convention, as we have seen, was a particularly lively one in which matters of crucial interest were openly and frankly discussed. The impression which it created on its own members was naturally varied. One viewpoint was expressed as follows: "The recent meeting in Boston was the most unhappy Convention I have ever attended. The spirit of division, instead of the spirit of unity, in the Church of all places in the world, was most disturbing." But another says: "What stands out as most encouraging . . . is the Forum meeting held at famous Ford Hall. That battleground of many an intellectual struggle became the scene for an exchange of ideas, frank and sincere, such as I have not seen before at any of our church meetings."⁷²

The 1931 Convention at Cincinnati was far more placid, on the surface at least, the majority of the delegates being happy to let controversial issues alone as far as possible. The theme of the Convention, "A Living Church," was worked out in various ways, and at some of the meetings a sense of true "livingness" was very apparent. In this respect the high spot of the Convention was the missionary meeting, which began appropriately with a paper on "Johnny Appleseed," the pioneer missionary of Ohio. An account of New Church activities in Germany and Austria, presented by the Rev. Erich Reissner, gave a touching picture of a courageous little group struggling to build the New Church in the face of post-war poverty and discouragement. But the most inspiring and heartening address was that of the Rev. Henry K. Peters of Kansas,—knight-errant of the prairies,—who carries the message of the New Church through heat and cold to remote villages, adapting the teachings of Swedenborg to the needs of rural America. An interesting feature of Mr. Peters' missionary work is his use of a large and talented family who all play musical instruments and give concerts in schoolhouses and town halls to attract the crowds. His description of his "family band" was particularly en-

livening, and produced an impression of true spiritual vitality as well as "Yankee resourcefulness." This type of New Churchman is an interesting contrast to the traditional type. Perhaps the New Church in America will ultimately be transformed from theologians into "troubadours of God"!

C O N C L U S I O N

P R E S E N T S C E N E A N D F U T U R E P R O S P E C T S

"Behold, a sower went forth to sow; and when he had sowed, some seeds fell by the wayside, and the fowls came and devoured them up. Some fell upon stony places, where they had not much earth, and forthwith they sprung up, because they had no deepness of earth, and when the sun was up they were scorched, and because they had no root, they withered away. And some fell among thorns, and the thorns sprung up, and choked them. But others fell into good ground, and brought forth fruit, some an hundredfold, some sixtyfold, some thirtyfold."

In these words we have a brief epitome of the history of the New Church in the New World. We have seen what happened to the seed sowed by James Glen in the rocky soil of a pioneer civilization. We have studied its first hundred years of growth and its thirty years of decline, and striven to understand the reasons for both. In the New Church itself there are two opposite opinions concerning these points. One party believes that the decline dates from the commencement of the attempt to modernize and adapt the teachings of the Church to its intellectual environment, whereas the other believes just as sincerely that it is due to the Church's failure to adapt sufficiently. As a matter of fact the figures *seem* to favor the former view, for the General Church, which has made distinctiveness and non-adaptation the very cornerstone of its foundations, has not declined. Its membership in the United States has more than tripled since the schism of 1890, and this not only by the normal method of raising and keeping its children, but also by accessions from outside.

But it is dangerous to put too much dependence in figures where there are so many qualitative factors involved. There is no reason to believe that had the Convention "gone Academy" in 1890 it would be in any stronger position to-day, for the phenomenon of Bryn Athyn is based on something more subtle than dogmatic fundamentalism merely. It cannot therefore be made the criterion of judgment in this issue.

Where experts differ it is impossible for a casual observer really to form an opinion. Unless a questionnaire could be sent to all the members of the New Church who have dropped out in the past thirty or forty years to find out the *real* reasons for their defection (which would probably not appear in the questionnaire), it must remain a matter of mere conjecture colored by temperamental predilections. And after all, the one thing that really matters is the present situation,—how can the problems which confront the Church *now* best be met? What policies and methods will meet the needs of the present day? These are real issues, and necessarily controversial ones, for they involve two crucial questions, first, exactly what is the contribution the New Church has to make to the religious life of the modern world, and, second, how can this contribution be made most effectively? Swedenborg's contribution to the theology of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was an invaluable one,—liberation. It was a reaction against the worst features of the orthodox theology, and liberated his followers from the icy grip of many a doctrinal horror. But now that icy grip is broken for most of the Protestant churches. Few wretched souls now lie groaning under the weight of "original sin," "predestination," and "eternal damnation." What then is left for the New Church to do? What new emancipation has it to offer,—or what improved technique for bringing down into human life that greatly needed "power from on High"?

There are many in the New Church who believe that the precious gift it has to offer is a new social philosophy based on Swedenborg's doctrine of the Grand Man. One of these says: "It is more than a little amazing that in the middle of the eighteenth century, before the development of mod-

ern industrial machinery, of the factory system, of trusts and syndicates, of class and group and international consciousness, of the larger self-conscious societies in general which mark our civilization, Swedenborg should have apprehended and outlined the Christian message in terms of larger neighbors, of Christian obligations owing between them, of a social conscience. Here is one of the most truly distinctive aspects of his teaching. Here is one of the most startling evidences that he was called to speak the Christian message for a new day, or, as he said, 'for a new church.' Here is one of the surest lines of demarcation between old and new: the individualistic Gospel is old; the Gospel which is individual and social is new. . . . The germ and outline of such a Gospel, and the impulse to it, have lain in the Theological Works, fairly unabsorbed by the mind of the New Church."¹ This emphasis on the Social Gospel naturally results in the breaking down of sectarianism and exclusiveness, and in some places to the development of the "community church" idea. The most important example of this tendency is the Brooklyn Society, which has changed its name from the Church of the New Jerusalem to the Church of the Neighbor. Its "Neighborhood Club," founded eleven years ago, is "the evolved expression of a desire to be of some concrete service to the surrounding community." The Club is entirely non-sectarian, and self-governing, developing its own program entirely free from control by the Church. It has concentrated on fostering the artistic life of the community through art exhibitions, concerts and recitals, and the presentation of plays.²

A certain note of impatience with the Church's absorption in doctrinal details appears in the writings of some of its most spiritually-minded leaders. The late Rev. Adolph Roeder writes scornfully of linguistic disputes: "I seldom stop on such exceedingly minor points, for it does not really do us, in our present-day need, a particle of good to know whether the Jews pronounced certain letters hard or soft. In our effort to secure better service for the insane; to change our government back to the American (i.e., the unicameral)

form; to stop the un-American practice of tipping; to create a committee on World Peace in both Houses, and to do a thousand and one other important things, does it really make the slightest difference whether a reader of the Hebrew puts a dot in a letter to make it hard or to make it soft? Tut, tut.”³ And the Rev. William R. Reece, one of the most inspiring of the younger ministers, says: “Do you know what I should like to see come about in the New Church? I should like to see the time come when we should pass beyond the conception that the New Church consists for the most part of a set of doctrines and beliefs. It is not that. If I understand him correctly, Swedenborg meant by the New Church a new life.” Mr. Reece goes on to plead for a more living personal religious experience. “There is a proverb, common among Hindus, which runs something like this: ‘When the lotus blooms, the bees will gather.’ When you have had the experience, you do not shout from the house-tops; there is some subtle attraction that draws people to you, . . . some subtle influence radiates and emanates from you, and leads to you other persons who feel that here is a source of strength.”⁴ This is the nearest approach we have found in the writings of the New Church to an expression of mystical religious experience. The New Church in general has ignored the mystical side of religion, though it is absolutely inherent in the doctrine of influx,—the entrance of God into the individual soul, as well as in the doctrine of perception, or interior reception of spiritual truth.⁵ Whether or not Swedenborg himself was a mystic in the usual sense of the word need not be discussed, but the fact remains that in his doctrines lie the germs of a new type of mysticism, anchored firmly to life by the doctrine of use, and yet glowing with celestial light. Perhaps in the development of this *new* mysticism the New Church will perform its greatest service to the New Age.

There are others in the New Church who feel that the presentation of Swedenborg’s teaching as a rational theology is the best way of reaching the rationalistic mind of America, and that his theology is eminently fitted to that mind, which

demands logic and fact. Swedenborg is also racially fitted to be the prophet of the new race. "The essential basis of the racial background of America is really Scandinavian, the Teutonic, Danish, and Norse elements predominating in the English stock from which we sprang." Also America is nationally the product of the New Age. The Last Judgment in the spiritual world, which cleared the way for the new influx from the heavens, took place only a few years before our struggle for independence. The spirit of America is the scientific, technical spirit, and Swedenborg was primarily a scientist and an engineer,—his interest in machinery of all kinds was remarkable. Therefore he is eminently suited to be the prophet of the Machine Age. "The question of his inspiration is a difficult one for the agnostic modern mind, and that too must be dealt with rationally. It differed from the gleams of inspiration which all geniuses have only in degree, being, after his illumination, a steady light for twenty-five years, instead of a fitful gleam. In fact, it began with him in the usual way, as a fitful gleam, but was developed by him scientifically and in accordance with his knowledge of psychological principles through the various stages of trance perceptions into the full consciousness of a waking vision. There is therefore nothing abnormal about these psychical experiences to repel a rational thinker."⁶

In contradistinction to this method of rationalizing Swedenborg to the taste of the modern mind there is the point of view which demands the retention of all his distinctiveness and uniqueness. One writer feels that all that is needed to "put across" New Church teaching is an improved technique. "Our chief duty as a Church is to act the part of custodian in such a way as to cause our doctrines in their purity and according to their interrelations as a whole to stand out on the religious horizon of the world as a flame, from which the different distinctive doctrines will radiate as spiritual light for all who will receive any degree of enlightenment from them. . . . We have for exploitation something that is unique in value, and unique in its qualifications for serving the indispensable spiritual needs of men in this

scientific age. Hence it is for us as a church to mark out our own course and then, with independence and originality in method, to assume the type of spiritual leadership which the great wealth of our spiritual possessions imposes upon us as a duty and responsibility and opportunity.”⁷

The issue, then, is a clear-cut one,—whether the New Church can best serve the world by ironing out its distinctiveness, becoming like any other “community church,” all things to all men, and thereby find its life by losing it,—or whether the opposite course is not the better one, that of preserving its distinctiveness as a sacred trust, and enshrining its doctrines in all their integrity in the faith that future generations will some day find them acceptable. The first view has been held by many in the church, even in its early days. The Rev. James Reed, the second pastor of the Boston Society, wrote in the *Memorial History of Boston*: “It will be evident from all these considerations that New Churchmen, or Swedenborgians, must needs take a broad view of the Church and its growth. How far the old Christian sects will be dismembered, and the little body which includes the subject of this chapter be blessed with continuous life and become the acknowledged nucleus of the church of the future, is a matter of comparative indifference to them. The great fact everywhere confronts them that the prophecies which they have been led to believe are receiving manifest fulfilment; that the establishment of a new church or dispensation is rapidly going on; that fresh light from heaven is descending, and new spiritual influences are busily at work; that liberty of thought is daily increasing, and that in the exercise of it each man sooner or later will find the place which belongs to him.”⁸ And indeed, for the first statement of the New Church as a spiritual manifestation and not an ecclesiastical body, one can go back to the oldest authority, Swedenborg himself. For in the *Arcana Coelestia*, he says: “Hence it is evident that the Lord’s Church is not here or there, but everywhere, both with kingdoms where the Church is, and outside such kingdoms, wherever men are living in accord with the commandments of charity. Hence

it is that the Lord's Church is scattered throughout the whole world, and yet is one.”⁹

The real trouble seems to be that the New Church as an organization is now *old*, and like the other old churches, has an established body of traditions and dogmas with which it is loath to part. Whereas it was once ahead of orthodoxy in its scientific attitude and breadth of view, it is now exactly in the same place, and using exactly the same “defense mechanisms” to hold its firmly entrenched position. A large number in the New Church still seem, in spite of all that Swedenborg has said, to believe in “salvation by faith,” and to feel that doctrinal “soundness” is the *sine qua non* of true religion, hence controversies, persecutions and accusations of heresy. A New Church writer eighty years ago describing the two parties existing in the “Old Churches,” writes: “The one presses forward, towards change, freedom, enlargement, new statements, new forms, new views, latitude of construction, and is a party of progress. The other holds on to things as they are, or bends backwards to things as they were; loves the old articles, forms, rituals, dogmatic statements, and is in all things a party of conservatism and rest. The one places its ideal in the future; the other contemplates it in the past. By the one party, all the particular badges which mark the sect are, in general, lightly esteemed, and its distinguishing garments sit loosely upon them. While by the other, the distinctive peculiarities of the doctrinal phraseology, of ritual, and of order are more apt to be regarded as inseparable from the essential attributes of Christianity itself.”¹⁰ It is startling how accurate a description this is of the *New Church* to-day,—such are the changes that have come to it in eighty years.

But the following interesting analysis of the present situation puts the matter in a somewhat different light. “The whole thing is more confused than the ‘Liberals’ would have it. They wish to tabulate and label, and see the issue according to traditional lines of past issues in our Church and others. This cannot be done, because the structure of the human mind is changing, everywhere, and this issue has

never confronted the world before, and is not traditional. The human Will, as an instrument in man's life, is trying to get into its original chamber of control in the mind, that is to say, into the chamber of Love to the Lord. From the Fall of Man until now, except for a brief period in the First Christian Church, it has been an outcast from that chamber. . . . People want to act from love to the Lord, and don't know how. . . . Order beginning from within may, and must, result except in rare instances in temporary disorder without; and during that period, the steady but elastic anchorage of principles and standards is the only security against self-destruction. The Writings are this anchorage, and the pull upon them is now from such deep, unconscious, spiritual inclinations this way and that, that any connection they may have with the outside movements of our scientific world is not yet visible. For this reason, I do not believe in these labels at all. They really have nothing to do with the case.

"I have called the genuine movement of the 'Liberals' love to the neighbor, because I think that is what they wish to call it themselves. There are some among their critics who feel that it is more really a pulling away from Organization; but I believe this to be a part of their program only because of what they feel to be in themselves a love of the neighbor that outbursts organization. . . . As you will see, in the large there is little difference at all; because I believe equally that love to the neighbor is the genuine movement back of those whom they have called 'Conservatives.' But in particulars you will also see that this 'little' difference has resulted, as Swedenborg said little differences would result at the end, in diametrical oppositions between which there cannot possibly be any 'coming together.'

"Those in the Church who style themselves 'Liberals' are so eager to serve the neighbor that they wish to be giving without waiting to get for the giving. They go on the principle that Influx is according to Efflux. Because of their eager hurry they are forced to give chiefly from their external civic supplies of NATURAL good, because it takes time

and introspection to connect with interior supplies of SPIRITUAL good. . . . Those in the Church whom they have styled Conservatives are so eager to keep the gate of Efflux open to the neighbor that they try to keep their eyes on the Lord in order that He may show them what evils obstruct. They know that they can no more give good than a pipe can give water unless it flows through from the source. . . . They believe that it has always proved impractical charity to go directly to the other person with the truth or good; that suggestion and indirection through inner and higher appeals are surer instruments; that the shortest distance between two persons is through the Lord . . . the Lord alone is the Giver, through the neighbor and through us.

"There is a general breaking down of the old attention to the mere letter of the Writings and their dogmatic reiteration among all New Churchmen, even among doctrinarians. The so-called Liberals have been right in recognizing this liberation from externals and insisting upon it; but there are two ways of getting rid of the bondage of the letter. One way is toward the interiors, the other is toward a still further exterior. The new movement among the Conservatives has been, dimly and half-consciously, the first way. The so-called Liberals are taking boldly and without investigation the second way. . . . I don't think we will separate on the lines now drawn. There are too many so-called Liberals who are overflowing with very evident genuine charity, but who are afraid of the scholasticism of the literal Writings, and many among the others who are clinging to the old overbearing domination of the bare statements of Swedenborg, and are afraid of the new freedom within them. I think these are safer in the end than those who would be free of apparent scholasticism, because they will still have the Writings. . . . Waiting on the Lord, bringing down spiritual substances of thought and feeling into cleaned-out channels for thought and feeling, seems slow; and also seems turned away from that neighbor whom we all want to reach. But the Lord is the Neighbor most of all, and is most of all neglected and outside the door. He brings in the other."¹¹

It is certainly a fact that many of the finest and most spiritually-minded members of the New Church are to be found on each side of the present division, and it is this fact which has so far prevented a break. There seems to be little doubt that the hard-and-fast Conservatives are a dwindling minority in the Convention,—little is to be either hoped or feared from them in the future. At most they will merely serve as brakes on too precipitate decisions. Is it then a foregone conclusion that the Liberal majority will hold undisputed sway? The answer to that question depends largely on themselves,—on the ability and tact of their leaders. A reactionary movement would not be at all impossible, for the great mass of New Churchmen are unwilling to see it disintegrate into a nondescript institutional church. Therefore the hope for its preservation lies in loyalty to the spirit, if not the letter, of Swedenborg,—a cultivation of his ideas, not a cult of his words.

Robert Frost, in an interview some years ago, expressed something of the essential Swedenborgian attitude: "What's my philosophy? That's hard to say. I was brought up a Swedenborgian. I am not a Swedenborgian now. But there's a good deal of it that's left with me. I am a mystic. I believe in symbols."¹² Since the days of Pythagoras and Plato there has been a mystical tradition in Western thought carried on by those who have seen this material universe as a veil, or symbol, behind which and within which the spiritual universe resides. Emanuel Swedenborg belongs to this goodly company of *seers* who have seen reality through symbols, and he has left to the New Church in the "science of correspondences" a formula for the development of that method. And herein lies the New Church's unique contribution,—a technique for discovering hidden meanings. In place of the literalism to which the other churches are bound in their attempts to find fresh interpretations of the Scripture to present-day needs, the New Church offers an inner sense,—a whole world of metaphysical truth awaiting investigation. In place of the pietism and other-worldliness to which the more Catholic branches of the church are tending

in their reaction to modern materialism, the New Church offers a far saner philosophy in its belief that the two worlds, though separate and distinct, are yet mutually interdependent, and that the highest form of life on the material plane, the fullest and the richest, is at the same time the highest form of spiritual life.

Perhaps after all the issue in the New Church is not the simple and obvious one between "Fundamentalism" and "Modernism," but the more ancient one between literalism and mysticism which has appeared in almost all the world's religions at various times. The literalists on the "Conservative" side cling to the very letter of Swedenborg (a typically Protestant attitude), and in the General Church are tending to ritualism (the Catholic form of religious conservatism), whereas the literalists on the "Liberal" side are equally dogmatic in their rejection of authority, whether in the Writings or in the church organization itself. Like the modernistic literalists of all denominations they are in grave danger of "throwing out the baby with the bath." The non-literalists, or symbolists, on both sides, on the other hand, are holding loyally to their belief in the divine authority of the revelation given to the world through Swedenborg, but feel that this revelation can be understood truly only by a new, and purely spiritual, form of interpretation. They admit quite honestly that in the Writings there are inconsistencies and irreconcilable differences with the findings of science and scholarship, but feel that with a deeper and more spiritual understanding of Swedenborg's *thought*, truth may be found even in apparent errors. For this reason they feel that, far from having exhausted the possibilities of doctrinal study, the New Church is actually only at the beginning. Perhaps the trouble is that the "Modernists" take *too* literally Swedenborg's statement that "the life of religion is to do good," for that is only the half of it,—the "Martha" half. It should never be forgotten that one who was a greater authority even than Swedenborg said: "But one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her."¹⁸

What may be said of the New Church's great claim that it is "the Bride of the Lamb," the New Jerusalem foretold in the Book of Revelation? As a matter of fact it is only the General Church, and a minority in the General Convention, who still hold to this belief. The *New Church Messenger*, the official organ of the Convention, states officially that "Acknowledgment of the Divine of the Lord and of the holiness of His Word, and a life in His Spirit and according to His Commandments, are the three essentials of the Church," which includes by implication certainly many who are outwardly members of the "Old Church."¹⁴ And the *New-Church League Journal*, which voices the beliefs of the Convention's next generation, makes an even more explicit official statement: "The New-Church organization does not consider that it is this new Christian Church which is to come, and which may be seen coming now everywhere truth is and love is, but the organization exists for the sake of helping to bring the new Christian Church among men."¹⁵ When the New Church came into being in 1787 it was under a Dissenters' License, a fact which stamped it, historically at least, as a sect of the old church, though its founders declared it to be the one and only true Christian Church, and (as it has been somewhat unsympathetically stated by an American Liberal) "thirteen fanatics excommunicated the whole of Christendom."¹⁶ And indeed for many in the New Church it has been excommunicated ever since. But as we look back over its stormy history we cannot fail to remark that, in behavior at least, the New Church has resembled the "dissenting sect" rather more than "the Bride of the Lamb."

Would Swedenborg himself have acknowledged as "the crown of the churches" that small body so soon "by schisms rent asunder and heresies distressed"? In the *Arcana Coelestia* he gives us his answer: "In the Christian world it is doctrinal matters that distinguish churches; and from them men call themselves Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, or the Reformed and the Evangelical, and by other names. It is from what is doctrinal alone that they are so

called; which would never be if they would make love to the Lord and charity toward the neighbor the principle of faith. Doctrinal matters would then be only varieties of opinion concerning the mysteries of faith, which truly Christian men would leave to every one to hold in accordance with his conscience, and would say in their hearts that a man is truly a Christian when he lives as a Christian, that is, as the Lord teaches. Thus from all the differing churches there would be made one church; and all the dissensions that come forth from doctrine alone would vanish; yea, all hatreds of one against another would be dissipated in a moment, and the Lord's kingdom would come upon the earth.”¹⁷ But he said that this happy consummation, the establishment of the New Church on earth, would not “take place in a moment,” and could take place at all only “to the extent that the falsities of the former church are set aside,”¹⁸—including the falsity of making doctrinal matters the test of churchmanship. Judged by this criterion the New Church can hardly be said to have “come out from the Old.” It is also illuminating that Swedenborg did not think of the Church in terms of an organization, but in terms of the individual, for he tells us that “the church is within man, and not without him; and that every man is a church, in whom the Lord is present in the good of love and faith.”¹⁹—Perhaps that is the *true* answer to the question, “What is the New Church?”

A B B R E V I A T I O N S

THE WRITINGS OF SWEDENBORG:

A.C. *Arcana Coelestia.*
A.K. *Animal Kingdom.*
B.E. *Brief Exposition of the Doctrines of the New Church.*
C.L. *Conjugal Love.*
D.C.H.S. *Doctrine Concerning the Holy Scripture.*
D.C.L. *Doctrine of the New Jerusalem Concerning the Lord.*
D.L.W. *Divine Love and Wisdom.*
D.P. *Divine Providence.*
H.D. *The New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine.*
H.H. *Heaven and Hell.*
L.J. *The Last Judgment.*
S.D. *Spiritual Diary.*
T.C.R. *True Christian Religion.*

(In the case of Swedenborg's writings the numbers refer to paragraphs.)

GENERAL WORKS OF REFERENCE:

Annals. Carl Theophilus Odhner: *Annals of the New Church*, Vol. I, 1688-1850.
Doc. Rudolph L. Tafel, Editor: *Documents concerning the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg*, 3 Vols.
R. and P. Robert Hindmarsh: *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church.*
Schlatter. Letterbook of Wm. Schlatter of Philadelphia, 1814-1825.
Con. Jour. *Journals of the General Convention*, 1817-1930.
Jour. Gen. Ch. *Journals of the General Church of Pennsylvania*, 1883-1890.
 Journals of the General Church of the Advent of the Lord, 1891-1892.
 Journals of the General Assembly of the General Church of the New Jerusalem, 1897-1930.

NEW CHURCH PERIODICALS:

<i>In. Rep.</i>	<i>Intellectual Repository</i> , London.
<i>Mess.</i>	<i>New Jerusalem Messenger</i> , (now <i>New-Church Messenger</i>).
<i>Mess. (Old)</i>	<i>New Church Messenger</i> , Cincinnati, 1853-1854.
<i>N. C. Rep.</i>	<i>New Church Repository</i> .
<i>N. C. Rev.</i>	<i>New Church Review</i> .
<i>N. C. Life</i>	<i>New Church Life</i> .
<i>N. J. Mag.</i>	<i>New Jerusalem Magazine</i> , 1827-1872.
<i>N. J. Mag. (n.s.)</i>	" " " (new series, 1875-1893).
<i>Words</i>	<i>Words for the New Church</i> .

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. *Annals*, p. 5; *Doc.*, I, pp. 96, 114, 127, 105.
2. *Doc.*, I, pp. 150-152, 195.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 607-608.
4. *Doc.*, II, pp. 279-280.
5. *S.D.*, 3320, 3464; *Doc.*, I, pp. 145-150.
6. *Doc.*, I, pp. 607, 200; *Doc.*, II, pp. 884-885.
7. *Doc.*, II, p. 3.
8. *Doc.*, I, pp. 207, 210, 211.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-227, 230-231.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 241, 254-255, 258, 293.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 274, 554, 634-636.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 304, 316, 407-413; *Doc.*, II, pp. 4-5.
14. *Doc.*, I, pp. xiv-xv; *Doc.*, II, pp. 73, 908-912.
15. *Doc.*, II, pp. 915-941, 908, 947-950.
16. Alfred H. Stroh, editor, *The Swedenborg Archives*, Vol. I, Part 2, pp. 3-5, 28, 45, 59-71; Part 1, pp. 1-4; Part 2, p. 46. These scientific theories and discoveries of Swedenborg's lay buried in a mass of unread Latin books and manuscripts until the end of the nineteenth century when they were discovered by a few scholars and scientists. In 1901 Professor Max Neuberger of Vienna appealed to the Royal Swedish Academy for a complete edition of the scientific works. This resulted in the appointment of a committee of the Academy under Dr. Gustaf Retzius. The tremendous task of transcribing and publishing the manuscripts was undertaken by the Academy in 1902 with the coöperation of American and English Swedenborgians who offered to share the expense. A brilliant young Swedenborgian scholar from Bryn Athyn, Pa., was entrusted with the editorial work,—Alfred H. Stroh, whose indefatigable zeal resulted in his death from over-work, after sixteen years of Herculean labor.
17. *Doc.*, II, 423, 437-438, 560, 537, 544-546, 446-447, 407.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 75-130, 587, 196.
19. *A.K.*, Prologue; *A.C.*, 5.
20. *Doc.*, II, pp. 171, 591-592; *Doc.*, I, p. 36.

21. *Doc.*, II, pp. 261, 950-959; *Doc.*, I, pp. 7, 464-465.
22. *A.C.*, 4.
23. *T.C.R.*, 807.
24. *Doc.*, II, pp. 408, 486; *Doc.*, I, pp. 494, 66.
25. *Doc.*, II, pp. 468, 532, 989, 260, 1027-1032, 306, 323-345, 373-377; *Doc.*, I, p. 47.
26. *Doc.*, II, p. 383.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 454, 549, 565; *Doc.*, I, p. 36.
28. *Doc.*, II, pp. 557-558, 576, 549.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 557; Stroh, pp. 39-41, 83-84.

CHAPTER II

1. *B.E.*, Introduction.
2. *Ibid.*, Introduction.
3. *Doc.*, I, p. 36; II, pp. 950-951.
4. *Doc.*, II, pp. 954-960.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 961-963.
6. *D.L.W.*, 33.
7. *Doc.*, II, pp. 966-971.
8. W. F. Wunsch: *The World Within the Bible*, pp. 3-7. (By permission of the New-Church Press.)
9. *Mess.*, Vol. 140, pp. 250-252 (1930).
10. Wunsch, p. 31.
11. *Doc.*, II, pp. 404-405.
12. *A.C.*, 6597.
13. *T.C.R.*, 189-193, 212, 216.
14. *Ibid.*, 207-208.
15. *D.L.W.*, 246, 247.
16. *T.C.R.*, 229-234.
17. *D.C.H.S.*, 27-28.
18. *A.C.*, 10325.
19. Wunsch, 23-25.
20. *A.C.*, 6-13.
21. *Ibid.*, 55, 84, 97, 98, 54, 64-66, 104.
22. *Ibid.*, 138, 147, 149, 155, 194, 204, 208.
23. *Ibid.*, 231.
24. *Ibid.*, 787, 610, 617, 975, 1024, 765, 609.
25. *H.H.*, 438.
26. *Ibid.*, 192.
27. *Ibid.*, 7, 14. The angels were all once human beings.

28. *Ibid.*, 21-27.
29. *Ibid.*, 38.
30. *Ibid.*, 41, 42, 49, 59, 65, 68.
31. *Ibid.*, 73, 117.
32. *Ibid.*, 541-548, 551, 570.
33. *Ibid.*, 421-422, 597, 426-437, 430, 499, 512.
34. *Ibid.*, 477, 485, 489, 388.
35. *Ibid.*, 391, 393, 414, 366, 367.
36. *T.C.R.*, 772.
37. *L.J.*, 45, 69.
38. *T.C.R.*, 753-754, 757, 760.
39. *Ibid.*, 764, 768.
40. *Ibid.*, 776, 779.
41. *Ibid.*, 791.
42. *Ibid.*, 508.
43. *Ibid.*, 784, 787.
44. *Ibid.*, 43, 46, 47, 66, 70.
45. *Ibid.*, 163.
46. *D.C.L.*, 60.
47. *T.C.R.*, 138, 144.
48. *Ibid.*, 463-464, 485-486.
49. *Ibid.*, 489-490, 479, 475.
50. *Ibid.*, 576.
51. *Ibid.*, 579.
52. *Ibid.*, 124, 126.
53. *Ibid.*, 509, 510, 512-515, 528, 532-533.
H.D., 203.
54. *T.C.R.*, 583-584.
55. *Ibid.*, 571.
56. *Ibid.*, 283.
57. *Ibid.*, 283.
58. *Ibid.*, 329, 331.
59. *Ibid.*, 287, 336.
60. *H.H.*, 482.
61. *T.C.R.*, 399.
62. *Ibid.*, 394-400, 408, 410.
63. *H.D.*, 106, 124.
64. *T.C.R.*, 412-416.
65. *Ibid.*, 395, 406, 422-423, 430-431, 439; *H.H.*, 158, 528.
66. *H.D.*, 202-203.
67. *T.C.R.*, 721, 704-705, 716.
68. *G.L.*, 1-52, 142-146.

69. *Ibid.*, 423-443.
70. *Ibid.*, 444.
71. *Ibid.*, 462, 533.
72. *T.C.R.*, 779.

CHAPTER III

1. *Mess.*, Vol. 58, pp. 187, 59.
2. *R. and P.*, p. 269; *In. Rep.*, 1831, p. 443.
3. *N. J. Mag.* (London), 1790; *Annals*, pp. 124-129.
4. *Annals*, pp. 113, 133-134.
5. Mesmer, in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th Edition), Vol. 18, pp. 178-179.
6. Frank Podmore: *Modern Spiritualism* (Methuen, 1902), p. 76.
7. Frank Podmore: *Mesmerism and Christian Science*, pp. 197-198.
8. *Mess.*, Vol. 72, pp. 73, 91, 112; *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 34, pp. 179-181.
9. H.H., 326: "Among gentiles in heaven, the Africans are most beloved, for they receive the goods and truths of heaven more easily than others. They wish especially to be called obedient, but not faithful."
10. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 39, p. 569.
11. *N. J. Mag.* (London), Vol. 1, pp. 70-73, 142.
12. *Doc.*, I, p. 646; *Mess.*, Vol. 63, pp. 107-108; *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 39, p. 569.
13. *Doc.*, II, pp. 252, 258, 620.
14. *Doc.*, I, p. 637; *Doc.*, II, 1332-1333; *Mess.*, Vol. 48, p. 40; Vol. 33, p. 303. *Annals*, pp. 140, 373.
15. *Con. Jour.*, 1833, p. 21; 1835, p. 56.
16. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 11, pp. 18-20; Vol. 28, p. 382; *Journal of Central Convention*, 1843, p. 14.
17. Podmore: *Spiritualism*, p. 15. From *The History of Spiritualism*, by Arthur Conan Doyle, p. 22. Copyright, 1926, by Arthur Conan Doyle and reprinted by permission from Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., publishers, and Lady Conan Doyle.
18. *In. Rep.*, 1848, pp. 441-448; *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 37, p. 22.
19. *Doc.*, II, p. 1162; *Doc.*, I, p. 637; *R. and P.*, p. 181; *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 13, pp. 266-268.
20. *N. J. Mag.* (London), Vol. 1, p. 175; *Mag. of Knowledge*, Vol. 1, p. 406; *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 14, pp. 191-192, 201, 184; Vol. 15, p. 446.
21. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 31, pp. 460-466.
22. *In. Rep.*, 1838, pp. 323-325.
23. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 37, p. 21; *In. Rep.*, 1849, pp. 34-39.

24. *Mess.*, Vol. 47, p. 373: In 1826 General Mouravieff was exiled to Siberia for his outspoken advocacy of the abolition of serfdom, and after nine years of terrible suffering, was restored to royal favor in 1835. But in 1858 he had his reward, being appointed president of the Committee which drew up the act of emancipation. When this tremendous achievement was finally accomplished in 1861, it was Mouravieff who was proclaimed its originator and hero.
25. *S.D.*, 6101; *Doc.*, II, pp. 496-499, 974, 996, 539, 703, 500, 1010, 1166; *Doc.*, I, p. 10.
26. Theodore Compton: *Life of John Clowes*, p. 16; *Aurora*, Vol. I, pp. 317-320.
27. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 34, pp. 275-277; *R. and P.*, p. 40.
28. *R. and P.*, pp. 10-17, 28.
29. *N. C. Life*, 1895, pp. 105, 120.
30. *R. and P.*, pp. 17, 7, 23-24, 40, 28, 65.
31. *R. and P.*, pp. 136, 59, 62-63, 262; *Doc.*, I, p. 701; *Doc.*, II, pp. 570-576, 581-584; Lewis F. Hite: *Swedenborg's Historical Position*, pp. 129-132.
32. *R. and P.*, pp. 54, 55; *In. Rep.*, 1871, p. 160; 1857, p. 339; *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 37, pp. 23-24; William White: *Life of Emmanuel Swedenborg*, p. 597; Compton: *Life of John Clowes*, p. 83.
33. *R. and P.*, pp. 108, 54-62.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61, 66, 70, 157.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 75, 78, 80, 139; Compton, p. 48.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-104.
37. Carl Th. Odhner: *Robert Hindmarsh*, pp. 25-31; *Kramph Will Case*, pp. 7-8.
38. *R. and P.*, pp. 194-195: Hindmarsh says that once when Cowherd asked a member of his flock whether she was abstaining from animal food, she replied: "O yes, sir, I never taste it,—but only now and then take a little mutton broth and a red herring." For this indulgence the lady was firmly excommunicated!
39. *R. and P.*, pp. 78, 140-143, 155-157, 166.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 41; *In. Rep.*, 1832, p. 124; 1829, p. 694; *N. C. Rep.*, 1850; *Magazine of Knowledge*, Vol. I, pp. 123, 404; Richard DeCharms: *Pseudo-Spiritualism*, p. xi; *Diary Earthly and Spiritual of James Johnston*.
41. *Aurora*, Vol. 2, pp. 165, 209, 249; Vol. I, pp. 434, 438, 329-345; *R. and P.*, 188, 190, 237, 475; *Words*, Vol. I, pp. 230-231.
42. *R. and P.*, pp. 78-80; *N. J. Mag.* (London), 1790, p. 308; 1791. Appendix.

CHAPTER IV

1. Ednah C. Silver: *Sketches of the New Church in America*, pp. 1, 2, 6, 7.
2. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 44, pp. 175-176; Silver, p. 8: In 1917 a bronze tablet was set up to mark the former site of Bell's Book Store.
3. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 11, 119; *Boston Semi-Centennial Celebration*, p. 10.
4. Jonathan Bayley: *New Church Worthies*, p. 111.
5. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 18, p. 571.
6. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 44, pp. 176-177.
7. *Mess.*, Vol. 47, p. 38.
8. *N. C. Life*, 1896, p. 85; *N. J. Mag.* (n.s.), Vol. 16, p. 290.
9. *Newchurchman*, Vol. 1, pp. 539-540. There is a copy of this edition in the Library of Columbia University, the gift of William Hill to King's College.
10. *Mess.*, Vol. 47, pp. 38-39; *N. J. Mag.* (n.s.), Vol. 16, p. 290.
11. *Newchurchman*, Vol. 1, pp. 401-402, 75-76; Vol. 3, p. 231.
12. *Mess.*, Vol. 62, p. 251.
13. *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 195; *Newchurchman*, Vol. 1, pp. 164, 167.
14. Silver, p. 22; *Mess.*, Vol. 25, p. 67.
15. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 9, pp. 652-654.
16. *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 157: In 1857 the Wilmington Society was formally organized with a membership of twenty-two, *all* descendants of Daniel Lammot.
17. *Mess.*, Vol. 32, p. 72; *Newchurchman*, Vol. 2, p. 264; *Newchurchman-Extra*, pp. 110-118.
18. *Newchurchman*, Vol. 1, pp. 165-166.
19. Schlatter, pp. 53, 44, 26, 52, 143-146, 428.
20. *Newchurchman*, Vol. 1, pp. 40-41.
21. *Mess.*, Vol. 44, p. 178; *Newchurchman*, Vol. 1, pp. 399-402.
22. *Con. Jour.*, 1822.
23. *History of the Philadelphia Bible Christian Church*, pp. 20-25.
24. Schlatter, p. 161.
25. *Hist. Bible Christian*, pp. 31-36.
26. *In. Rep.*, Vol. 6, pp. 416-419 (1823).
27. *Con. Jour.*, 1826, p. 15.
28. Schlatter, pp. 85, 423.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 434, 443.
30. *N. J. Mag.* (n.s.), Vol. 8, p. 142; *Con. Jour.*, 1842, p. 444; *Newchurchman*, Vol. 2, p. 282.
31. *Con. Jour.*, 1826, p. 15; 1827, p. 19; *Newchurchman-Extra*, p. 169.

32. W. M. Gewehr: *The Great Awakening in Virginia*, p. 20.
33. Mrs. Burton Harrison: *Recollections Grave and Gay*, pp. 16, 42; Silver, pp. 290-294; *Mess.*, Vol. 62, pp. 370, 275-276: A member of the Washington family informed the Rev. Philip Cabell that there were a number of Swedenborg's works in George Washington's library, and often on his table, and that he had first come to know them through Lord Fairfax by whom he was employed in his youth as a surveyor.
34. *Mess.*, Vol. 73, pp. 352-353; Vol. 74, p. 293.
35. Schlatter, p. 229.
36. *R. and P.*, p. 220; *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 43, pp. 545, 550; *Annals*, p. 239.
37. *Open Court*, Vol. 3, pp. 1837-1839; *Mess.*, Vol. 112, pp. 27, 67; *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th Edition), Vol. 23, p. 228.
38. *Mess.*, Vol. 60, p. 281; Photostat letter (New-Church Theological Library).
39. R. B. Semple: *History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia*, pp. 178-179; *Mess.*, Vol. 63, p. 8; Photostat letters.
40. *R. and P.*, p. 302; *Con. Jour.*, 1882, p. 7.
41. *Con. Jour.*, 1818, p. 403; 1820, p. 5; 1822, p. 8; 1844, p. 434; 1930, pp. 192-194, 60-61.
42. *R. and P.*, pp. 150-153.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
44. *Mess.*, Vol. 62, p. 250; *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 44, p. 178.
45. *Mess.*, Vol. 63, p. 139; *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 43, pp. 476, 546.
46. Robert Carter: Photostat letters.
47. *Mess.*, Vol. 63, p. 139.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 49; Vol. 62, pp. 403-404. This is the first appearance of anti-clericalism in the American New Church.
49. Silver, pp. 40-41: The Rev. Adam Fonerden was the father of Dr. John Fonerden, friend and physician to the great merchant, Johns Hopkins, and inspirer of the founding of the University and Hospital. Dr. Fonerden was a New Churchman.
50. *R. and P.*, pp. 176-177.
51. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 43, pp. 545, 547, 553; *Newchurchman-Extra*, pp. 77-82.
52. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 14, p. 490; Vol. 44, pp. 500-501; Silver, pp. 42-43.
53. *R. and P.*, p. 181; *Mess.*, Vol. 27, p. 212.
54. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 14, p. 485; (n.s.), Vol. 17, p. 1; *Precursor*, Vol. 3, p. 43.

55. *R. and P.*, p. 139; *Mess.*, Vol. 47, p. 144.

56. *Mess.*, Vol. 24, p. 225; *N. J. Mag.* (n.s.), Vol. 16, p. 554; *Newchurchman*, Vol. 1, p. 401.

57. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 14, pp. 184, 224-225.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 223, 296; Vol. 30, pp. 393-394.

60. *Mess.*, Vol. 21, p. 252; Vol. 47, p. 144.

61. *Annals*, p. 230; *Halcyon Luminary*, Vol. 1, p. 5; Index.

62. *Halcyon Luminary*, Vol. 1, pp. 335-336, 543.

63. *R. and P.*, pp. 273-274, 302-303; *Con. Jour.*, 1821, p. 6.

64. Schlatter, pp. 291, 378, 282, 437.

65. *Con. Jour.*, 1837, p. 384; 1839, pp. 405-406; *Newchurchman*, Vol. 2, pp. 684-687.

66. Richard DeCharms: *Introduction to Sermons against Pseudo-Spiritualism*, pp. 38, 41; *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 19, p. 77; *In. Rep.*, 1860, p. 215-216; *Newchurchman-Extra*, pp. 286-291.

67. N. S. Prime: *History of Long Island*, p. 158; *Con. Jour.*, 1821, p. 1881, p. 82; *N. C. Quarterly Review*, Vol. 1, p. 324.

68. *R. and P.*, pp. 221, 277-278; *Con. Jour.*, 1817, p. 142.

69. M. H. Prescott: *Religion and Philosophy United*, p. 12.

70. *N. C. Life*, 1896, pp. 103-104; *Newchurchman*, Vol. 1, p. 53; *Annals*, pp. 177-178.

71. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 30, pp. 391-394; Vol. 41, pp. 525-528; Sampson Reed: *A Biographical Sketch of Thomas Worcester*, pp. 5-6, 21-27.

72. Reed, pp. 7, 129, 15; *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 11, pp. 120-122. The first edition of the *Arcana*, with notes in Swedenborg's own hand, is now in the Library of the New Church Theological School.

73. Reed, pp. 15, 99, 16; *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 34, pp. 292-293.

74. Reed, p. 16; Prescott, Preface, pp. 15-18. Samuel Prescott was the nephew of Col. Wm. Prescott of Bunker Hill fame, and cousin of Wm. H. Prescott, the historian.

75. Prescott, pp. 4-5.

76. *Mess.*, Vol. 46, p. 207.

77. *Boston Semi-Centennial Celebration* (Pamphlet).

78. Reed, pp. 16, 20, 21, 28.

79. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 26, pp. 94, 95, 85.

80. *Mess.*, Vol. 139, p. 263; Reed, p. 53.

81. *Con. Jour.*, 1834, p. 134.

82. Schlatter, pp. 249, 355, 385.

83. Silver, pp. 72, 227, 228; Reed, pp. 43, 70-74. Mr. Wilkins became

president of the National Bank of Boston, and left a bequest of \$60,000 to the New Church.

84. Schlatter, pp. 233-234, 171.
85. Reed, p. 81.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 77; Schlatter, p. 402.
87. Schlatter, p. 225; *Newchurchman*, Vol. 4, pp. 20-124; *N.-Extra*, Vol. 1, p. 39.
88. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 19, pp. 173-179.
89. Schlatter, pp. 256, 337; *Newchurchman-Extra*, Vol. 1, p. 85; Silver, p. 97.
90. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 10, p. 54; Vol. 20, p. 420; Vol. 39, p. 624; *Con. Jour.*, 1828, p. 6; *N. C. Life*, 1892, p. 27.
91. Reed, pp. 93-95.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 96; *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 13, pp. 431, 30.
93. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 26, p. 79; *Con. Jour.*, 1845, p. 395.
94. *Mess.*, Vol. 52, p. 70; Vol. 3, p. 69; Vol. 47, p. 115; Vol. 64, p. 110; *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 15, p. 100; Vol. 30, pp. 204, 206; Vol. 28, p. 339; *Con. Jour.*, 1820, 1826, p. 13.
95. *R. and P.*, pp. 303-304.

CHAPTER V

1. Schlatter, pp. 52, 108.
2. *R. and P.*, pp. 271-273.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
4. *Mess.*, Vol. 55, p. 138; *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 17, pp. 76-80; *Precursor*, Vol. 1, p. 222.
5. *R. and P.*, pp. 279-281, 305-306.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 295-296; *Con. Jour.*, 1829, p. 16; *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 5, p. 64.
7. Jonathan Bayley: *New Church Worthies*, pp. 123-125; *Con. Jour.*, 1822, p. 8; Ednah C. Silver: *Sketches of the New Church in America*, pp. 47-51. (By permission of the Massachusetts New-Church Union.)
8. Bayley, p. 131; *Mess.*, Vol. 141, pp. 10-13; Vachel Lindsay: *The Litany of Washington St.*, pp. 75-76. (By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.)
9. *Con. Jour.*, 1826, p. 17; *Mess.*, Vol. 30, p. 177; Vol. 33, p. 304; Vol. 44, p. 208.
10. *Outline History of the New Jerusalem Church of Cincinnati*, p. 6; *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 43, p. 550; *Con. Jour.*, 1823, p. 12.

11. Schlatter, pp. 292, 297.
12. W. A. Hinds: *American Communities*, pp. 146-149. (By permission of Charles H. Kerr & Company.)
13. J. H. Noyes: *A History of American Socialisms*, pp. 59-61.
14. *Outline Hist. Cincinnati*, p. 7.
15. *Mess.*, Vol. 47, p. 201.
16. *Outline Hist. Cincinnati*, p. 15; *Mess.*, Vol. 55, p. 348; Vol. 44, p. 293.
17. *Precursor*, Vol. 2, p. 174.
18. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 87; *Mess.*, Vol. 55, p. 172; Silver, p. 23.
19. *The New Church and Chicago*, pp. 10, 20, 27, 31, 48-50, 65-67.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 77, 97, 123, 135, 141-143.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 40; *Mess.*, Vol. 46, p. 67; Vachel Lindsay: *Collected Poems*, pp. xxii-xxiii. (By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.)
22. George M. Field: *Early History of the Early Church in the Western States and Canada*, pp. 3-6, 10-11, 14-16, 20-21, 57-61.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 71-73, 104, 107, 131.
24. *Mess.*, Vol. 46, p. 220; Silver, pp. 155-256, 171.
25. Field, pp. 134, 146; *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 16, pp. 391-395.
26. Field, pp. 191, 195-196, 204, 210.
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99. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 36, p. 207; *N. C. Life*, Vol. 22, pp. 113-115.
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5. *Ibid.*, p. 479.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 257; *N. J. C. Rep.*, Vol. 1, pp. 517-518.
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30. William McGeorge, Jr.: *How Long Halt Ye Between Two Opinions?*
31. *N. C. Life*, Vol. 51, pp. 27-37.
32. *Acad. of N. C.*, pp. 38-42.
33. *First Three General Meetings of Teachers connected with the Schools of the Academy of the New Church*, pp. 3-8.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-26.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-49.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
37. *N. C. Life*, Vol. 49, p. 298.
38. *Ibid.*, Vol. 20, pp. 367, 377, 393.
39. *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, pp. 485, 486.
40. *Ibid.*, Vol. 20, p. 401.
41. *Ibid.*, Vol. 39, pp. 807, 797.
42. *Ibid.*, Vol. 50, p. 489.
43. *Journal of Education*, Vol. 23, pp. 188-197.
44. *Curriculum, Part I. Growth of Mental Faculties*, pp. 2-13.
45. *Ibid., General Introduction*, pp. 1-4.
46. *Ibid., Religion*, pp. 2-3.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-10.
48. *N. C. Life*, Vol. 20, p. 374.
49. *Jour. of Ed.*, Vol. 14, pp. 173, 175, 185.
50. *Ibid.*, Vol. 22, p. 185.
51. *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, p. 204.
52. *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, pp. 71-80.
53. *Curriculum, VIII, Handwork*, p. 4.
54. *Ibid., VI, Mathematics*, p. 5.

55. *Jour. of Ed.*, Vol. 23, p. 65.

56. *T.C.R.*, 760.

57. *Curriculum*, II, History, pp. 3-4.

58. C. Th. Odhner: *The Golden Age*, pp. 168-170: "From the Revelation given to the New Church it is known that 'the science of correspondences was cultivated in many kingdoms of Asia, and especially in the land of Canaan, Egypt, Assyria, Chaldea, Syria, Arabia, and in Tyre, Sidon, and Nineveh; also, that it was carried hence from the maritime districts into Greece; but there it was turned into fables, as is evident from the writings of the earliest authors there. . . . Of Homer, the author of the Iliad and the Odyssey, we know that he composed his immortal epics in a correspondential or representative style, as is shown in the *Arcana Coelestia*, 2762, where the correspondence of the Trojan horse is given.'" In Hesiod's story of the birth of the Titans, "'Chaos' is the mixed state of man before regeneration, before he has begun to discriminate between good and evil. 'Gloomy Tartarus' is the 'abyss' of the Bible, . . . the lusts of the unregenerate man. 'Love,' or 'Eros,' would seem to correspond to 'the Spirit of God moving upon the face of the waters,' etc. (By permission of the Academy of the New Church.)

59. *Acad. of the N. C.*, pp. 82-86.

60. *Curriculum*, III, English, pp. 1-7.

61. V. C. Odhner: Lecture Two. (Mimeographed notes.)

62. *Curriculum*, IV, Geography, pp. 1-4.

63. *A.C.*, 3518.

64. *Curriculum*, V, Nature, pp. 1-9.

65. *N. C. Life*, Vol. 50, pp. 502-503.

66. *Jour. of Gen. Ch.*, 1888, pp. 16-23.

67. *Curriculum*, I, Religion, p. 2.

68. *Words*, Vol. 1, pp. 218-219; *Cathedral-Church*, pp. 2-5, 24.

69. *American Architect*, May 29, 1918, pp. 709-710. (By permission of the *American Architect*.)

70. *Ibid.*, p. 711.

71. *Cathedral-Church*, pp. 5-13.

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 31-32: "The church at Bryn Athyn is the first in modern times, or in the last 400 years, to employ curves in plan in the alignment of the arcades of the nave. The existence of such curves in plan in mediæval architecture was unknown until the demonstration offered by the Brooklyn museum photographs. Not only is this church the first in modern history to employ

curves in plan, but also the first to employ bends in elevation of the horizontals, and bends in plan of the façade." (By permission of the *Brooklyn Museum Quarterly*, April, 1916.)

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-29.
74. *Jour. Gen. Ch.*, 1887, p. 56.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
76. *N. C. Life*, Vol. 40, p. 468.
77. *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, pp. 597-599.
78. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 17, p. 224: "We find a broad and catholic liberality pervading the work throughout, not only in the make-up of its contents but in the retention of the old liturgical terms for which modern terms have proved poor makeshifts. . . . Notwithstanding the Academy's old-time aversion to everything bearing the name and insignia of the 'old church,'—going so far as to insist, in days past, on having an entirely new version of the Scripture to sing from,—we find here the old, authorized version of the Bible, a selection of hymns from all types of old church writers,—Calvinist, Reformed, Roman, Greek, and Unitarian,—all subjected, we have no doubt, to the only necessary criterion, namely, that they are good utterances in devotional form and spirit of themes that are true in doctrine, and in accord with the Divine Word."
79. *A Liturgy for the General Church of the New Jerusalem*, p. 304.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 357.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 434.
82. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 17, pp. 231-232.
83. *N. C. Life*, Vol. 48, p. 37.
84. *Bryn Athyn Post*, November 5, 1930, p. 45.

CHAPTER XI

1. *Mess.*, Vol. 1, p. 19.
2. *Annals*, pp. 449, 462, 464.
3. *The Swedenborgian*, Vol. 1, pp. 273-284.
4. *Con. Jour.*, 1856, p. 7.
5. *Ibid.*, 1866, p. 16.
6. Bush: *Memoirs*, pp. 5-9, 256.
7. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 18, p. 202.
8. Bush: *Memoirs*, pp. 131, 125.
9. John Bigelow: *The Bible that was Lost and is Found*, p. 49.
10. Bush: *Memoirs*, pp. 55-60.
11. Bush: *Priesthood and Clergy*, p. 20.

12. Bush: *Memoirs*, pp. 296, 286.
13. *N. C. Rep.* Vol. 4, pp. 72-76.
14. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 24, pp. 32-35.
15. *Letters of William James*, Vol. I, pp. 7, 11-13. (By permission of the *Atlantic Monthly*.)
16. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 42, pp. 473-474.
17. *Ibid.*, Vol. 20, p. 419.
18. Henry James: *Church of Christ not an Ecclesiasticism*, pp. 3-31.
19. *Letters*, Vol. I, pp. 15-16.
20. *Church of Christ*, pp. 10, 13, 18, 20, 34, 39, 56, 71.
21. *Mess.*, Vol. 44, p. 2.
22. *Ibid.*, Vol. 72, pp. 187, 208.
23. *Ibid.*, Vol. 82, p. 301; *Con. Jour.*, 1902, p. 25.
24. *Ibid.*, Vol. 88, p. 23.
25. *Ibid.*, Vol. 94, p. 318.
26. *Ibid.*, Vol. 89, p. 153.
27. *Words*, Vol. 2, pp. 70-71.
28. *Con. Jour.*, 1880, pp. 83-84.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.
30. *Ibid.*, 1881, pp. 88, 94.
31. *Mess.*, Vol. 46, p. 346.
32. *N. C. Life*, Vol. 20, p. 57; C. J. Wilkinson: *James John Garth Wilkinson*, pp. 40, 66, 79, 82, 143, 162.
33. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 19, p. 101.
34. *Words*, Vol. 1, pp. 237, 249.
35. *N. C. Life*, Vol. 17, p. 170.
36. *Jour. Gen. Ch.*, 1899, pp. 98, 103.
37. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 25, pp. 417-418.
38. *Con. Jour.*, 1900, p. 142; A. H. Stroh: *Investigations in Sweden*, p. 249.
39. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 25, p. 417.
40. Stroh, p. 256.
41. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 22, p. 579.
42. *N. C. Life*, Vol. 36, p. 118.
43. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 29, pp. 194-195.
44. *Ibid.*, Vol. 11, pp. 263-265.
45. *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, pp. 424-427; *Worship and Love of God*, 25-28, 32-38.
46. *Ibid.*, Vol. 11, p. 271.
47. *Ibid.*, Vol. 8, p. 483.
48. *Journal of Education*, Vol. 23, pp. 204-216.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225.
50. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 16, p. 264.
51. *Mess.*, Vol. 139, p. 335.
52. *Ibid.*, Vol. 138, p. 67.
53. *Mess.*, Vol. 139, p. 322.
54. *Ibid.*, Vol. 68, p. 374.
55. *Con. Jour.*, 1902.
56. *Mess.*, Vol. 124, p. 351.
57. *Ibid.*, Vol. 126, pp. 67-68.
58. *Ibid.*, Vol. 127, p. 98.
59. *Ibid.*, Vol. 126, p. 117.
60. *Con. Jour.*, 1902, pp. 164-172.
61. *Mess.*, Vol. 140, pp. 239-241.
62. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 14, p. 218.
63. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 37, p. 164.
64. *Ibid.*, Vol. 36, p. 508.
65. *Mess.*, Vol. 139, p. 312.
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67. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.
68. This "evidence" consists of reports of remarks made by Mr. Wunsch in class, and of statements "copied verbatim from notes taken in class," and "therefore authoritative"!
69. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-19.
71. *Mess.*, Vol. 140, pp. 76-78.
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 102-4.
73. *Con. Jour.*, 1930, p. 8.
74. *Mess.*, Vol. 140, p. 158.
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76. *Mess.*, Vol. 140, p. 105.
77. *Ibid.*, Vol. 140, pp. 294, 298-300, 295.
78. *New Church Visitor*, April, 1931.
79. *Mess.*, pp. 140, 295.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 457.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 461, 2.

CHAPTER XII

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2. *Mess.*, Vol. 1, p. 30.

3. *New Eng. Quarterly*, Vol. 2, p. 275.
4. C. G. Carter: *Life of Chauncey Giles*, pp. 179, 181, 206.
5. W. H. Holcombe: *Spiritual Philosophy of African Slavery*, p. 7.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
7. *The New Church and Chicago*, pp. 390, 394.
8. *N. C. Rep.*, Vol. 5, pp. 183, 266, 280, 390.
9. *Mess.*, Vol. 3, p. 162.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. 37, pp. 472-480.
11. *N. C. Rep.*, 1853, Vol. 6.
12. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 42, p. 31.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 733.
14. *Mess.*, Vol. 17, pp. 191, 197.
15. *Con. Jour.*, 1872, pp. 77-78.
16. *Jour. New York Assn.*, 1874, p. 1.
17. *Mess.*, Vol. 52, p. 343.
18. *Ibid.*, Vol. 56, pp. 365-366.
19. *Ibid.*, Vol. 63, p. 394.
20. J. H. Barrows: *The World's Parliament of Religions*, pp. 506-7.
21. *Mess.*, Vol. 66, pp. 251-252.
22. *Jour. N. Y. Assn.*, 1893, pp. 250-252.
23. *Ibid.*, 1899, pp. 374, 3, 129.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 267-269.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 269-285.
26. *Mess.*, Vol. 29, p. 107.
27. *Con. Jour.*, 1906, pp. 17-18.
28. *Mess.*, Vol. 66, pp. 57, 120.
29. *Con. Jour.*, 1893, p. 6.
30. *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 7.
31. *Ibid.*, 1895, pp. 6, 8, 23.
32. *Ibid.*, 1897, pp. 5, 6, 11.
33. *Ibid.*, 1914, pp. 6, 7.
34. *Ibid.*, 1921, p. 8.
35. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 27, p. 479.
36. *Mess.*, Vol. 41, pp. 41-42.
37. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 21, p. 57.
38. *Con. Jour.*, 1911, pp. 39, 55.
39. *Ibid.*, 1912, pp. 41-42.
40. *Ibid.*, 1913, pp. 46-47.
41. *Mess.*, Vol. 140, pp. 269, 273.
42. *Ibid.*, Vol. 41, pp. 9, 11, 14.

43. *Ibid.*, Vol. 82, p. 194.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 295.
45. *Ibid.*, Vol. 81, p. 282.
46. *Ibid.*, Vol. 82, p. 55.
47. *N. C. Life*, Vol. 22, pp. 39, 85.
48. *Mess.*, Vol. 45, p. 212.
49. *Ibid.*, Vol. 89, p. 221.
50. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 26, p. 99.
51. *Mess.*, Vol. 67, pp. 201, 233, 378.
52. *Ibid.*, Vol. 139, p. 256.
53. *Ibid.*, Vol. 66, p. 300.
54. *Ibid.*, Vol. 56, p. 88.
55. *Ibid.*, Vol. 57, p. 304.
56. *Ibid.*, Vol. 135, p. 381.
57. *Ibid.*, Vol. 101, p. 45.
58. *Ibid.*, Vol. 134, pp. 51, 129.
59. Vachel Lindsay: *Collected Poems*, Preface, p. xxxviii. (By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.)
60. *Mess.*, Vol. 60, p. 97.
61. *Ibid.*, Vol. 67, p. 219.
62. *Ibid.*, Vol. 62, p. 132.
63. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 17, pp. 600-601.
64. *Christian Socialist* (Chicago), March 15, 1910, pp. 1-8.
65. *Mess.*, Vol. 112, p. 175.
66. *Ibid.*, Vol. 134, pp. 445-446: At this Convention a gift of \$1,000 was made to Miss Keller in appreciation of her services to the New Church in presenting to the world in her book, *My Religion* her beautiful testimonial to the teachings of Swedenborg.
67. *Ibid.*, Vol. 140, p. 118.
68. *Con. Jour.*, 1913, p. 18.
69. *Ibid.*, 1920, pp. 93-94.
70. *Ibid.*, 1929, pp. 128-133.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
72. *Herald of Light*, Vol. 1, pp. 36-39.
73. *Con. Jour.*, 1930, pp. 105-106; *Mess.*, Vol. 139, pp. 174-175.
74. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 20, p. 490.
75. *Mess.*, Vol. 6, pp. 106, 182.
76. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 36, pp. 14, 48.
77. *Ibid.*, Vol. 37, p. 12.
78. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 5, pp. 353-358.

79. *Mess.*, Vol. 81, pp. 186-187.
30. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 21, pp. 594, 598-599.
31. *Mess.*, Vol. 109, p. 3.
32. *Mess.*, Vol. 108, pp. 82, 427, 181.
33. *Ibid.*, Vol. 109, p. 282.
34. *T.C.R.*, 408.
35. *Con. Jour.*, 1916, p. 6.
36. *T.C.R.*, 415.

CHAPTER XIII

1. *Con. Jour.*, 1890-1930.
2. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 1, p. 276.
3. H. K. Carroll: *The Religious Forces of the United States*, p. 444.
4. *Jour. Mass. Assn.*, 1929, pp. 27-29.
5. Pendleton: *Principles*, p. 3.
6. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 41, p. 797.
7. *Mind* (N. Y.), August, 1900, p. 322.
8. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 24, p. 92.
9. H. N. Casson: *The Crime of Credulity*, p. 84. (By permission of Peter Eckler.)
10. *Con. Jour.*, 1904, p. 145.
11. *Atlantic Monthly*, 1913, Vol. III, pp. 470-471. (By permission of the *Atlantic Monthly*.)
12. *Con. Jour.*, 1895, p. 150.
13. *Ibid.*, 1896, p. 154.
14. *Ibid.*, 1901, p. 166.
15. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 17, p. 98.
16. *Con. Jour.*, 1903, pp. 141-142.
17. *Ibid.*, 1905, pp. 169-170.
18. *Mess.*, Vol. 90, pp. 234-235.
19. *Con. Jour.*, 1927, p. 130. Mr. Barron also believed in personal evangelism. In a letter to the author dated Houseboat *Edna B.*, Long Key, Fla., January 14, 1927, he says:

“Very few people are able to read the Revelation of God through His Word and the Writings of Swedenborg, and most people ought not to read it, for he can be rightfully read and received with benefit only by those who are struggling to see the light for the purpose of following that light. . . . I am asking my office to send you a few of my writings regarding the Reve-

lation through Swedenborg, and also the three books of Swedenborg, and perhaps sometime you will tell me how they impress you. . . .

"Yours for the Truth,

"C. W. BARRON."

20. *Swedenborgian*, Vol. I, p. 34.
21. *Con. Jour.*, 1926, p. 139; 1930, pp. 136-137, 129, 117, 121.
22. *Swedenborg Foundation, 81st Annual Report*, pp. 2, 12, 18.
23. *Con. Jour.*, 1930, pp. 94-95, 14, 97; *Mess.*, Vol. 140, p. 32.
24. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 36, pp. 152, 154.
25. *N. J. Mag.*, Vol. 33, p. 23; *Ibid.* (n.s.), Vol. 6, p. 440; *Con. Jour.*, 1900, p. 85; 1930, pp. 86-87, 58-66; *Mess.*, Vol. 140, p. 91.
26. *Con. Jour.*, 1893, p. 109; L. P. Mercer: *The New Jerusalem in the World's Religious Congresses*, p. 313. (By permission of the Western New-Church Union.)
27. *Con. Jour.*, 1926, pp. 175-176; 1930, pp. 58-66.
28. *Ibid.*, 1880, p. 48; 1890, p. 52; 1900, p. 85; 1910, pp. 86-90; 1920, pp. 59-63; 1930, p. 86.
29. *Mess.*, Vol. 139, p. 374.
30. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 36, p. 161; *Con. Jour.*, 1930, p. 83.
31. Mercer, pp. 3-4, 7.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
33. *World's Congress Auxiliary, Dept. of Religion, Reports*.
34. J. H. Barrows: *The World's Parliament of Religions*, pp. 68, 6-8; Mercer, p. 10; *Open Court, Catalogue of Publications*, p. 19.
35. Mercer, p. 22.
36. Frank Sewall: *Narrative and Critical Account of the Parliament of Religions* (in Mercer, p. 31).
37. Mercer, pp. 152, 978.
38. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 24, p. 127; *Con. Jour.*, 1917, p. 7; 1918, p. 2.
39. *Con. Jour.*, 1894, pp. 120-131; 1916, p. 103; *Mess.*, Vol. 140, p. 39.
40. *Ibid.*, 1916, p. 103; *Mess.*, Vol. 140, pp. 39-40, 132, 135.
41. *Mess.*, Vol. 140, pp. 133-134.
42. *Con. Jour.*, 1924, p. 121; 1925, p. 122.
43. *Mess.*, Vol. 140, pp. 140, 301; Vol. 121, p. 239.
44. *New Church League Journal*, Vol. 31, pp. 135-138 (1931).
45. *New Church League Journal*, Vol. 30, p. 129.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
47. *Mess.*, Vol. 67, p. 104; Vol. 68, p. 330; Vol. 140, p. 258.
N. C. Rev., Vol. 33, pp. 476-477.

48. *Mess.*, Vol. 140, p. 257; Vol. 139, pp. 86-87.
49. *Con. Jour.*, 1908, pp. 74-80; 1910, p. 73; 1920, pp. 37-39; 1921,
 . p. 153; 1925, p. 41; 1926, pp. 34-35; 1930, pp. 46-49.
50. *Mess.*, Vol. 96, pp. 220-221; Vol. 55, p. 217; Vol. 134, p. 443.
51. *Ibid.*, Vol. 126, pp. 179-180; *Con. Jour.*, 1920, p. 8.
52. *Ibid.*, Vol. 140, p. 354; *Con. Jour.*, 1925, pp. 116-117; 1927,
 p. 140; *Bulletin of Urbana University Catalogue*, p. 3.
53. *Mess.*, Vol. 85, pp. 157-158.
54. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 10, p. 637.
55. *Mess.*, Vol. 139, p. 258.
56. *Ibid.*, Vol. 129, p. 593; Vol. 125, p. 114.
57. *Bulletin of Urbana University*, May, 1930, pp. 7-8.
58. *Con. Jour.*, 1924, pp. 2, 224; 1925, pp. 112-113; 1928, p. 103;
 1929, pp. 146-147; 1930, pp. 104-105.
59. *Mess.*, Vol. 83, p. 99.
60. *Ibid.*, Vol. 136, p. 341; *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 13, pp. 258-259; Vol. 23,
 pp. 528-529; Vol. 20, pp. 302-303.
61. *Book of Worship*, Preface, pp. iii, iv. (By permission of the New-Church Press.)
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 404.
63. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 29, p. 88.
64. *Magnificat*, Preface, Index. (By permission of the New-Church Press.)
65. *Con. Jour.*, 1930, pp. 200-209.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.
67. *Convention Program*, p. 1.
68. *Con. Jour.*, 1930, pp. 21-39.
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 pp. 13, 5.
70. Luther C. Fry: *The United States Looks at its Churches*, pp. 134,
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71. *Con. Jour.*, 1898, p. 25; 1902, p. 161.
72. *Mess.*, Vol. 140, pp. 126, 141, 82.

CONCLUSION

1. *N. C. Rev.*, Vol. 37, pp. 91-92.
2. *The Neighborhood Club Annual Award*, 1931.
3. *Mess.*, Vol. 140, p. 240.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. 132, pp. 381-383.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. 140, pp. 224, 236-237.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 393-395.
8. James Reed: in *Memorial History of Boston*, Vol. 3, p. 513.
9. *A.C.*, 8152.
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11. A. A. S. James; Ms. Letter. (In the possession of the author.)
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13. Luke 10:42.
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16. B. F. Barrett, *The New Church*, p. 125.
17. *A.C.*, 1799.
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